





## Ajamian released on NIS750,000 bail

11



# 'U.S. arms to Iran only tip of iceberg'

LONDON (AFP). — U.S. arms deliveries to Iran, brought to light in the current Washington foreign policy row, are only the "tip of the iceberg" when compared to world-wide Tehran arms trading, the British defence magazine *Jane's* reported here in its latest issue.

The magazine alleged that in the past two years alone Iran has spent billions of dollars in secret deals with companies in Western Europe, Latin America, and the East bloc, to obtain missiles, combat aircraft, tanks and spares for its six-year-old war with Iraq.

It said Iran secured a "significant arsenal" from North Korea, China, Brazil, Syria, Argentina, Libya, Belgium, Austria and Israel. It claimed the Soviet Union was also a supplier.

Quoting specialists in the Pentagon *Jane's* said the arms were shipped to Iran via China and North Korea. And, in the case of Western deliveries, through Syria.

The magazine said Iran had even bought U.S. tanks and spare parts seized by the Iraqis in 1982 on the black market. It said this deal, set up by Arab and Swiss middlemen, had cost the Iranians \$100 million.

*Jane's* alleged Peking shipped \$1.5 billion worth of weapons to Tehran between 1979 and 1983 and last March signed a \$1.6 billion deal to supply Tehran with 50 fighter planes, tanks and surface-to-air missiles.

It said about 25 of the planes, Chinese equivalent of the Soviet MIG-21 fighter, had already been shipped to Iran through Pakistan.

*Jane's* said "large amounts" of U.S. anti-tank missiles were bought through European middlemen and arms dealers, with missiles normally listed at \$6,000 each costing Iran as much as \$16,000.

According to Arab sources quoted by the magazine, Vietnam and Tehran last July signed a contract worth \$400 million for the supply of 80 tanks, 12 F-5 fighter

planes and important amounts of arms and spare parts left behind by the U.S. forces at the end of the Vietnam war.

Meanwhile, Jordan's *Al-Rai* newspaper yesterday renewed Amman's criticism of the U.S. arms sales to Iran saying the arms supplies gave Tehran a "green light" to escalate its war with Iraq.

The arms deals were part of a U.S. strategy to share with Iran domination of the Gulf and its Arab members, the newspaper added, saying such a strategy would "change the map of the area and deprive the Arabs of their basic source of energy...a vindictive American reply to the Arab oil weapon which shook the scales in 1973."

The U.S. arms sales crisis also has shaken the confidence of some of Washington's European friends.

"The loss of trust (in Washington) is much greater than the objective damage from this affair. American foreign policy must be dependable and predictable," said West German Christian Social Union politician Franz Josef Strauss, in an interview with the daily *Die Welt*.

"Only the enemies of the U.S. in the region can be enthusiastic about the mess," a spokesman for Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers' Christian Democrat Party said. And French officials said they fear President Reagan may now be too weak to bargain effectively with Moscow in future arms negotiations.

In a related development, Iran yesterday recalled its ambassador to Rome to protest a recent state-run television programme that portrayed Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in a comic fashion. An Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman in Rome said the recall for the "insulting" programme would not be permanent.

## Warring sides agree to truce in South Lebanon

Post Middle East Staff and agencies

The Shi'ite Amal militia and the Palestinian National Salvation Front are to begin a cease-fire at 3 p.m. today, according to an agreement reached last night in Damascus, Radio Monte Carlo reported.

The agreement came amid reports that Syrian artillery in the Bekaa Valley had bombarded Palestinian positions in the Sidon area yesterday, and that Syrian tanks had advanced towards the Sidon area where a four-day battle raged between the Palestinians and Amal in the Christian town of Maghdousheh.

The report from the Christian-controlled Voice of Lebanon said that 70 Syrian tanks and trucks had stopped about 20 kilometres short of the battle area in the Shouf mountains, and were awaiting further orders.

Lebanese police said yesterday that the overall casualty toll in the battle for Maghdousheh, a hilltop town just east of Sidon, stood at 130 dead and 351 injured since Monday.

There have also been heavy Amal-Palestinian clashes around the Beirut-area Palestinian camps of Bourj el-Barajneh and Shatilla.

According to Agence France-Presse, Palestinian sources in Beirut claimed last night that Amal was preparing an attempt to occupy the Shatilla camp.

In a press conference in Baghdad yesterday, PLO chief Yasser Arafat accused Syria and Israel of aiding Amal in their fight to contain the Palestinians inside their Lebanese refugee camps.

## CBS delays comedy about arms sales

NEW YORK (AP). — The CBS television network has postponed a satirical movie that had been scheduled for next week because it is about international arms sales and too similar to recent news events, a spokeswoman said Thursday.

The movie, "Deal of the Century," is a satire about arms mer-

chants who run into difficulties in South America.

CBS spokeswoman Anne Luzzatto said the movie, originally set for Tuesday night, was postponed "because of recent news events" — the controversy over the U.S. government's sale of arms to Iran and the diversion of profits to Nicaraguan rebels.

## Saudi arms role denied

RIYADH (AP). — Saudi Arabia yesterday denied press reports that multi-billionaire Adnan Khashoggi had arranged finance for Iran's purchase of U.S. arms.

The state-run Saudi Press Agency quoted an unidentified government official as saying the denial referred to reports in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*.

A report in *The New York Times* on Tuesday claimed Khashoggi had acted on behalf of the Saudi government in arranging the deal to improve relations between Riyadh and Tehran.

The Saudi agency quoted the official as saying the claim was based on "speculation attributed to unidentified American and Israeli sources."

Yesterday, Iran's Parliament speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani said that the discord generated between the U.S. and its European and Arab allies following revelations of U.S. arms sales to Iran was just payment for the wrongs done in the past to Iran.

"Now we are paying the U.S. back in its own coin," said Rafsanjani, adding that for centuries the U.S. and Britain "sowed discord among leaders (in the region) to create crises for the sake of their own ambitions."

## Kremlin weighs response to Salt II violations

MOSCOW (AP). — The Kremlin is considering how to respond to U.S. plans to exceed the Salt II Arms Limitation treaty, but is not in a hurry to take any specific measures countering deployment of a new American B-52 bomber, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

"Today, the Americans celebrate Thanksgiving and the U.S. administration has made a rather unpleasant gift for this family holiday, not just to the American people, but to the people of the entire world," spokesman Boris Fyadyshev said at a news briefing.

The U.S. Air Force's 131st B-52 bomber capable of carrying nuclear cruise missiles will be flown to a Texas air force base and placed in operational status today.

The U.S. State Department said on Wednesday night that would put the U.S. over the limits set by the 1979 Salt II treaty. The document was never ratified by the U.S. Senate, but the superpowers had agreed to abide by its provisions.

"The Soviet government has already said that it will consider itself free of the corresponding measures of that treaty" if the U.S. violates the Salt II limits, Fyadyshev said.

"The principle position of the Soviet Union is that the military balance between the Soviet Union and the United States cannot be violated," he added. "The Defence Ministry is thinking about what concrete steps might be taken" in response to the U.S. action.

## Stockwell dies

LONDON (Reuters). — Sir Hugh Stockwell, commander of British land forces during the abortive 1956 Anglo-French Suez Campaign died yesterday of leukemia, aged 83.

STREET. — Vice Adm. John M. Poindexter, who resigned this week as National Security Adviser to President Reagan, has had a street named after him in his former hometown, Odon, Indiana.



Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Joseph greets Lazarus More (left) and Amos Malini, after the two black dissidents were released for lack of evidence at a major treason trial in South Africa. (Reuter telephoto)

## King's death hastened to meet press deadline

LONDON (Reuters). — King George V, grandfather of Queen Elizabeth, was hastened to his death 50 years ago by a lethal injection administered partly to meet morning newspaper deadlines. British television reported on Wednesday.

The report, based on the notes of royal physician Lord Dawson, said the royal family felt the death should not be reported first in racy evening papers.

It said an injection of cocaine and morphine brought on the king's death in January 1936.

According to Dawson's notes, Queen Mary and the future King Edward VIII told him they did not want to prolong the 70-year-old monarch's life if his illness was mortal.

Dawson was reported to have written: "The determination of the time of death of the king's body had another object in view, viz the importance of the death receiving its first announcement in the morning papers rather than the less appropriate field of the evening journals."

"The papers knew that the end might come before their going to press and I told my wife on the telephone to advise *The Times* to hold back publication."

George V reigned for 26 years and saw the British Empire reach its zenith. He also presided over the financial crisis of 1931 which led to the formation of a coalition national government.

The king was officially said to have died of bronchial problems combined with a weak heart.

The royal physician is credited with having penned the radio bulletin which told Britain on January 20, 1936: "The king's life is moving peacefully towards its close."

But in his own notes Dawson — who seven years earlier had pulled the king back from a coma brought on by a lung abscess — said he finally agreed to hasten the king's death after appeals from Queen Mary and the future King Edward VIII to end the king's suffering.

The account of the king's final hours was detailed in an article by Dawson's biographer, Francis Watson, in the December issue of *Hisory Today*, released yesterday.

Explaining his decision, the royal physician had written: "Hours of waiting just for the mechanical end, when all that is really life has departed, only exhausts the onlookers, and keeps them so strained that they cannot avail themselves of the solace of thought, communion or prayer."

A Buckingham Palace spokesman said Queen Elizabeth was aware of the report, but declined to confirm it or comment further. "All the main participants are dead," he noted.

The television said the king died little more than an hour after receiving the injection.

Watson said in the Independent Television news report that he was aware of the circumstances of the death before publishing Dawson's biography in 1950, but had withheld the details to avoid embarrassing the royal family and that of the physician.

Sir Douglas Black, a former president of the Royal College of Physicians, condemned Dawson's reported action as "evil," and Kenneth Rose, King George V's official biographer, told the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper the facts seemed beyond dispute, adding: "In my opinion the king was murdered by Dawson."

Some forms of passive mercy-killing are condoned by Britain's medical association and a euthanasia movement has attracted considerable support in Britain.

## Filipino army attacks as cease-fire signed

MANILA (Reuters). — Amid handshakes, hugs and smiles, government and rebel negotiators yesterday signed a cease-fire agreement that could herald a daring first step towards ending the 17-year-long communist war in the Philippine countryside.

As they signed the accord, which goes into effect at noon on December 10, the army launched a major offensive supported by tanks and airborne troops against rebels who killed five soldiers and two militiamen on Wednesday in Aurora Province, north-east of Manila.

The rebel war has claimed 8,000 lives since January 1985.

President Corason Aquino hailed the agreement, saying in a statement: "Our final aim is a lasting and honourable peace wherein a nation united and free can work for its progress. If both sides work in a genuine desire for peace that aim is achievable."

The agreement calls for a 60-day halt in the war during which both sides are to meet to try to resolve the substantive issues dividing them.

## Peres confirms: Syria makes nerve-gas

Jerusalem Post Staff  
Syria is making nerve gas, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres declared Wednesday night.

Speaking at the Labour Party Central Committee in Tel Aviv, Peres accused the Soviet Union of "always being the first to introduce new weapons into the region."

*Jane's Defence Weekly* magazine this week reported that Syria is producing chemical weapons and converting warheads on Soviet-supplied missiles to carry nerve gas. The authoritative magazine, quoting Arab sources in the Middle East, said the weapons were being manufactured in new factories in Damascus and Homs. Their production capacity was not known.

The chemicals, initially obtained from the U.S. were being supplied by West Germany after Washington

banned exports of the products last summer, *Jane's* said. It added that Syria was converting conventional warheads on Soviet-supplied surface-to-surface missiles to carry nerve gas, and had the capability to use the chemical agents in shells and bombs fired from artillery and tanks.

Britain's *Sunday Telegraph* reported last weekend that Libya had provided Syria and Iran with nerve-gas warheads for the Soviet missiles and said British intelligence had traced their origin.

Britain is investigating the report that Syria is obtaining chemicals from Germany for the production of nerve gas. If the reports are authenticated, Britain will ask Germany to stop the shipments as they would be in violation of the EEC embargo on the sale of lethal materials to Syria.



A 1982 file photo of Lord Rothschild who served in the M15 counterintelligence agency during World War II. British legal authorities are looking into allegations that he was involved in the leaking of information on state security in violation of the Official Secrets Act. British MPs this week were agog at claims from former M15 employee, Peter Wright, that Rothschild paid him to pass documents to author Chapman Pincher in 1980. (Reuter telephoto)

## Gorbachev: Reduce risk of war in Asian region

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday called for negotiations to reduce the risk of war in Asia and its surrounding oceans, including prior notification of sea, air and land maneuvers.

In a televised speech to the Indian parliament, Gorbachev offered to start talks with the U.S. and other countries with a permanent presence in the area to bring about substantial reduction of the size and activities of naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

He also called for multilateral negotiations to guarantee the safety of sea lanes including the Persian Gulf and the strategic straits of Hormuz and of Molucca between Borneo and New Guinea.

In a speech dominated by peace and disarmament issues, he referred to the joint "Delhi Declaration" signed earlier yesterday with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This called for an international convention outlawing the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

Supporting the idea of a joint, peaceful development of outer space, Gorbachev proposed the establishment of an international centre, aided by the leading space powers, to develop space technology for the benefit of developing countries.

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Anyone with information regarding relatives of the above is asked to contact: Advocate H. Koeb, P.O.B. 116, Givatayim (03-324881).

**Angela and Helen Nussbaum**

Contact Gill immediately.



WASHINGTON (AP) — Lt. Col. Oliver North, a key official in the plan to finance anti-government rebels in Nicaragua with money from arms sales to Iran, has been linked to many of the Reagan administration's most controversial foreign-policy decisions.

North, a staunch conservative trained in unconventional warfare operations, had held the title of deputy director for political-military affairs on the National Security Council since 1981.

The NSC, dubbed the "national security cowboys" by some congressional critics, adopted an activist role during Reagan's tenure, with North figuring prominently in the trend.

"Colonel North was on the staff as the resident gun-runner," said Gary Sick, an NSC staffer in the Carter administration.

But others rallied to North's defence, describing him as an "American hero" who had served the president well.

"North would never have committed any

## Oliver North — Cowboy or Hero?

violation of the law," said F. Andy Messing Jr., executive director of the conservative National Defence Council. "North's motto is God, family and country, and he strictly adheres to constitutional processes."

Besides helping the Contras in their attempt to topple Nicaragua's Sandinista regime, North played a part in persuading President Reagan to send marine "peace-keeping" forces to Lebanon, and in the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Reagan announced Tuesday that North, a 43-year-old marine, had been fired in the wake of assertions that he engineered the scheme in which Israel sold U.S. arms to Iran for profits used to subsidize the Contras. North's boss at the NSC, Vice Adm. John Poindexter, resigned, even though Reagan said that he was not "directly involved."



According to Attorney-General Edwin Meese, "the only person in the United States government who knew precisely about this (scheme), the only person, was Lt. Col. North."

North has long been an avid backer of the Contras. His prodigious capacity for work, his articulate views, his close relationship with former NSC director Robert McFarlane, and his links with conservatives combined to give him vast power, despite his innocuous-sounding title.

His 1983 biography described him as "responsible for national level contingency planning, crisis management and counter-terrorism," with a "regional focus on Central and South America."

McFarlane, who resigned last December but was involved in the sale of arms to Iran,

has known North for years and says he is "like a son of mine." The two men were both marines.

North's connections with the Contras brought him the most attention. He was a mainstay of the White House Office of Public Liaison's "Outreach Project" on Central America, often lecturing to groups, particularly conservatives.

Last month, Democratic Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts released a report that raised serious questions about whether the U.S. had abided by the law in its relations with the Contras.

Kerry's report, prepared by his staff, was based primarily on anonymous sources who linked North with the establishment of a private network that allegedly "helped the Contras with arms purchases, fund-raising and enlistment of military trainers," at a time when Congress had barred U.S. officials from providing such aid.

The NSC denied that North had acted improperly.

## Gush chief comes across as moderate

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

One does not usually think of Hanan Porat — a leader of Gush Etzion — as a moderate. But in the spectrum of Israel's political-religious establishment, he appears to be just that.

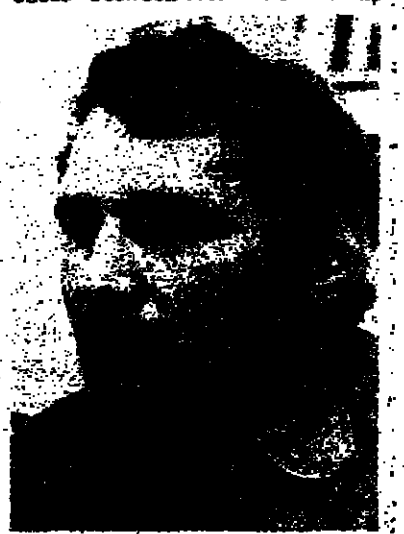
At a gathering at Bar-Ilan University this week sponsored by El Ami, a group devoted to furthering understanding between religious and secular Jews, Porat surprisingly did more than praise the pioneers' role in building and settling Eretz Yisrael. And he not only had a few good words for the Reform movement, but even spoke of the lessons to be learned from disbelievers.

Porat was preceded by Yehuda Harel, of Kibbutz Merom Hagolan, who spoke of the failure of his own — secular — society to transmit its ideals to its youth. But for the young men in their knitted skullcaps and for the young women in their skirts and sweaters, it was Porat who was the luminary.

It was an appropriate day to be discussing tolerance. Extremist Jewish mobs in Jerusalem were crying "death to Arabs." Harel mentioned the day's events in passing, Porat not at all.

The gathering, as Porat pointed out, could hardly be construed as a coming together of religious and non-religious extremes. Rather, it represented a meeting between two groups that are near the centre of the spectrum.

This perhaps made Porat's call to disregard the conventional division between religious and non-religious Israelis less than revolutionary. Forget the "sociological differences" between those who wear kip-



Hanan Porat (Israel Sun)

pot and those who don't. Porat urged.

Instead, he suggested, we must view society as a ladder everyone is striving to climb. "Who can say who is higher on the ladder?" he asked. "One day I may be higher up and the next lower."

This did not mean that he could accept the rejection of the Torah as "legitimate." He took great pains to decry tolerance based on indifference, tolerance which he likened to a person accepting without pain his child's leaving Israel or taking drugs or his wife's unfaithfulness.

By the same token, he told the audience, they could not simply reject Reform Judaism, despite their reservations about it. He said he felt the new Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem constituted a "turning point" in that movement.

He also spoke out against the weekly demonstrations outside the Hechal Cinema in Petah Tikva, where Orthodox Jews protest against Friday night screenings.

The religious public is lucky: it doesn't have more power, he said. "If we did we would pass laws that would really divide Israeli society."

A questioner took issue on this point, asking "What is one to do when one is surrounded by Sabbath desecration?"

"Where I live, not only do the neighbours' Friday-night parties keep us up until 2 a.m., but the next day cars race along the highway. The restaurants and cafes are open and even many shops. How do I explain this to my children?"

But Porat was adamant. "As long as we think that way, we're wrong," he said, alluding to religious coercion. "We have to think of how we can make Shabbat more attractive to them. I know that is much harder, but the best thing is always harder."

**16-month prison sentence for driving instructor**  
A driving-school instructor who bribed Licensing Bureau examiners was sentenced yesterday to 16 months in prison by the Jerusalem District Court.

In a plea bargain arrangement, Yihye Aaron, 52, was convicted on seven counts of bribery.

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## Dark beauty with a voice like a sax

Timna Brauer breezed into town, hoping to conquer hearts and minds with a jazz style all her own. If it works she'll be back, almost as if she never left, which is what practically every Tel Aviv performer aspires to and very few achieve.

You may remember her as last year's Austrian entry in the Eurovision contest, which is no place at all for somebody as talented and skilled as Timna.

She was born in Vienna, to a mother raised in Tel Aviv's Yemenite Quarter and an Austrian father. Her father, Arik Brauer, began as a dancer and became one of Vienna's best known performers.

Every year, Timna spent the summer in the Yemenite Quarter, in a rambling, 13-room three-storey house owned by her mother's parents.

She remembers a piano — on the porch, of all places. And she remembers stories about her father's courtship of her mother and how the neighbourhood would fill with song on Friday afternoons. Vienna was a nice and proper and stodgy place to bring up a dark Jewish beauty with a talent for dance and song. It was a place for her to acquire culture and learn languages and how to be polite.

But there aren't many dark Jewish beauties with voices like saxophones left in that city, and Timna always felt a little out of place.

So, as soon as she reached 18, she came to Israel to join the army.

She got into an entertainment unit — the path almost every Israeli performer takes. When not performing or on the base, she lived in that rambling house in the Yemenite Quarter, bringing home anybody from the unit who didn't have a place to stay.

Wonderful years. And if it weren't for the fact that she's only 25, she would sound almost like one of the old-timers at the Kassit Cafe being nostalgic.

For Timna, Israel is that rambling house in the Yemenite Quarter, and an IDF entertainment unit. Maybe, in a way, it is also all the dark Jewish beauties in whom she recognizes a bit of herself — even though she speaks half a dozen languages and

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv  
Robert Rosenberg



Timna Brauer (Markovitch)

knows her way around Vienna and Paris and Strasbourg and Munich and London and New York.

Right after the army, she returned to Austria where she auditioned for the Eurovision song contest and won, proving that no matter how things appear to be in Austria, there is some good taste there. After all, Israel is the country that didn't send Rita.

But that's history. Even though 800 million viewers were wrong and didn't award her first place in the contest, it made her a household name in Austria and Germany.

But those aren't places for a dark-haired Jewish beauty with a voice like an alto sax and an almost completed MA on the history of jazz vocalists.

Paris. She's singing with a big band and a little band, doing her own songs and the standard numbers, which she takes to the edge. "Cry Me a River" may be the most standard of all the standard numbers, but when she sings it it's never been

heard before.

Timna's not really an Israeli singer, of course. She's a jazz singer, which means she can sing anywhere. Her songs don't sound like Tel Aviv or Vienna, or the Yemenite Quarter or Paris. Maybe they sound like all those places combined.

In any case, she isn't an Israeli singer, sitting in a Tel Aviv cafe, flipping through the pages of a borrowed American or English or French magazine wondering how she's going to get there. Out of here. Onto stages in dozens of cities. Onto charts where it takes a lot more than 10,000 records to become a star. She's already there, not actually a star but certainly known, making records, and videos and performing, performing, performing, and maybe she'll yet be a star with a hit on these charts where it counts — New York.

She's here for the next few weeks, reunited with some of the musicians she met in the army, doing arrangements with Eli Meiri who started playing classical piano when he was five years old, but who says he's only taken the music business seriously, i.e. as a way of making a living, since he was 22.

That was five years ago. He's more or less been in Boston ever since, studying at Berklee, which is the route a lot of Tel Aviv musicians have taken. Not many have come back.

Timna came from France and Eli came from Boston, and they'll be with a group they put together of Israelis who study at Berklee. Shlomo Gronich, one of those who went to New York and came back, will join them.

But she'll be going back to Paris — not to France, she's quick to explain — and Eli will try to make it in New York. Maybe we'll see her or him or both of them again next year.

Timna hopes she'll be back often. At least once a year.

Meanwhile, this is the first time she's been a civilian in winter in Israel and so far it's been as wonderful for her as summer. It's the Yemenite Quarter all over again and it seems, for Timna, that it's certainly a lot better than Vienna, where there aren't many dark Jewish beauties with voices like alto saxophones.

## Olim fight for better mortgages

By GLORIA DEUTSCH  
Special to The Jerusalem Post  
New immigrants from England have organized to fight what they say is a discriminatory mortgage policy.

Campaign Against Limited Mortgage (Calim) is the name of the new groups, formed recently by people who are trapped in the Ra'asana absorption centre or rented flats because they do not qualify for the latest mortgages offered to new immigrants.

The Housing Ministry offers a mortgage of \$40,000 at favourable interest rates, but only for apartments of 85 square metres or less. Immigrants from South Africa can qualify for the same loan to purchase larger apartments.

"This is blatant discrimination," says Jeannette Schechter from London, a Calim activist.

The official reason given by the government is that South Africans are a special case — "like Ethiopians," as one minister put it. But Calim maintains that South Africans are not refugees, but immigrants who are backed by a powerful Zionist organization.

The limitation of mortgage is strictly applied and a surveyor is sent by the banks to measure the area of the flat. The entire apartment, including part of the lift, stairwell, balconies and car park must not exceed 85 square metres.

In a number of cases, several transactions fell through because the apartment exceeded the permitted space by one metre.

Calim plans to continue a mail-in campaign which has evoked sympathy from several ministers and Jewish Agency officials. Chairman Sid Cooper, from London, is approaching other immigrant bodies for their cooperation.

"We don't want to take anything away from the South Africans," they say. "We only want the same benefits."

As things stand, non-South African immigrants may buy a larger flat (up to 120 square metres) but receive a reduced mortgage, with the repayments costing 50 per cent more. Over 20 years they will pay an extra \$20,000 for their flat.

The immigrants maintain the current conditions do not encourage aliyah from Britain.

"It doesn't mean we'll go back," says Cooper. "But it's certainly a factor to be taken into consideration before contemplating aliyah."

## Sardines thrive as Kinneret recedes

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA — A modern "miracle" on Lake Kinneret is confounding the experts but creating happy fishermen.

Despite the unfavourable water level — the lake's lowest in half a

century, and well over three metres below the optimal — the lake fishermen have been landing record quantities of sardines since their season started at the beginning of the week.

Fishermen's union secretary Arye Tsur told The Jerusalem Post that they have been catching 20 to 30 tons

of sardines a night, double the amount caught in the past.

The only explanation they could offer was that fish may need less water than humans, since the sardines are multiplying while the water experts worry about the level of the lake.

But when the fishing is so good "we don't really look for reasons,"

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Wednesday: Nicodem

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The tournament will be played in two divisions, Casual and Competitive. Scrabble sets will be provided. For further information call Ziontours Jerusalem 02-233326.

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OR NIS 107 IF YOU REGISTER BY DECEMBER 14!

\* Price is per person in a double room (sorry, no single rooms), half-board. Includes VAT and service, includes registration for the tournament and deposit. Deposit is NIS 28 (or NIS 21 if you register by Dec. 14) to be received with the registration form (below). The remainder payable upon arrival at the hotel.

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Please complete the form below and mail as soon as possible (preferably via registered mail) together with your deposit.

To: Ziontours Jerusalem, 23 Hillel St., Jerusalem 94581

Please register me for the Scrabble Tournament. I enclose a cheque for NIS 28 (NIS 21 if received by Dec. 14) per person on deposit, the remainder payable upon arrival.

Number of players ..... Additional non-playing guests .....  
I/We would like to play in ☐ Competitive ☐ Casual  
Reserve for ☐ Double rm. ☐ Single to share a double ☐ Own accommodation

Additional details should be included separately.

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Shmuel Gottling, Chairman  
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הכרזה מן האוכל



## Iranian arms deal

The request  
Israel could  
not refuse

Hirsh Goodman/Defence Correspondent

AS THE IRANIAN arms-sale saga unfolded this week, it seemed more and more like fiction. A United States president unaware of deeds being undertaken in his name by shadowy colonels in the National Security Council (NSC). A Saudi Arabian striking a deal with Israel for the purchase of American arms for Khomeini's Iran; the transfer of some \$40m. to a secret Swiss bank account used to circumvent a congressional ban on American support for the Contras. The disclosure that a triumvirate had effectively taken over the Israeli democratic process - not unlike the autocracy of democracy that typified the Begin-Sharon era and brought about the Lebanese war.

While it is almost impossible to comprehend President Reagan's role and behaviour in the fiasco, especially given his stated positions on both Iran and terrorism, the logic of Israel's involvement is not difficult to understand - though the ingenuously inherent in the action may be. There were, it is now clear, three separate stages of Israeli arms sales to Iran, each with a logic of its own.

FIRST, in 1979-80, with Menachem Begin as prime minister, Ezer Weizman as de-

fence minister and Mordechai Zipori as deputy minister. The rationale was twofold: protection of the Jewish community that opted to stay in Iran; and an Israeli desire to ensure the prolongation of the Iraq-Iran war. This effort came to an abrupt end when president Jimmy Carter, who had imposed an ironclad embargo on arms sales to Iran during the American hostage crisis, discovered the covert channel.

Secondly, in 1982, with Begin as prime minister and Ariel Sharon as defence minister, when the consideration was primarily strategic: support for the lesser of two evils in a war that was in Israel's most fundamental interest. This, like the first stage, was carried out without American permission, and using middlemen (as opposed to government-to-government sales). The sales were mainly of munitions for Israeli-made systems that had been sold to the Shah, though there have been reports of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, TOW anti-tank missiles and aircraft spare parts being among the items sold.

Finally, in 1985/86, the present imbroglio, handled in Israel by Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Shamir and Yitzhak Rabin, through David Kimche, director-general of the Foreign

Ministry, and the prime minister's adviser on terrorism, Amiram Nir.

The background to the current exercise was, apparently, the hijacking of a TWA airliner to Beirut in June last year, and the consequent American realization that the channel to freeing the American hostages being held by Hizbullah was not through the Syrians, as had always been assumed, but through the Iranians.

A secondary American consideration was supporting "moderate" elements in the Iranian regime who might be in a position to take over after Khomeini's death.

THE NICARAGUAN dimension of the affair, it now seems clear, was an unauthorized "extra" undertaken on the initiative of the NSC's operatives.

IF IT IS granted that the unequivocal denial that Israel knew about the money from the sale being transferred to the Contras in defiance of Congress is true, and that Peres, Shamir and Rabin assumed they were acting in accordance with White House wishes, the decision by the three to go ahead with the deal is understandable. First there is the matter of Israel's com-

mitment to the U.S. in the context of strategic cooperation between the two countries.

As Israeli defence spokesmen have claimed for years, strategic cooperation is no longer based on Israel's receiving a \$1.8 billion military aid handout each year, but on the mutuality of strategic interests. Israel's part of the bargain, it has always been understood, is, in situations such as the threatened Syrian invasion of Jordan in 1970, to act as a surrogate for the U.S.

Acting on the president's behalf to achieve American policy-goals that conformed exactly with Israel's overall strategic interests seemed to be a fundamental expression of what strategic cooperation was all about. How could Israel refuse?

BOTH ISRAEL and the U.S. have a clear interest in seeing the Iraq-Iran war perpetuate itself for as long as possible. It is also clear that the worst thing that could happen from an Israeli point of view would be an Iraqi victory.

Iraq has taken part in every war against Israel and is an integral component of the Eastern Front, whereas Khomeini's fun-

damentalism is first and foremost a threat to the Arab regimes and only secondarily a potential threat to Israel.

Moreover, even in victory the Iranian army would be in a shambles. A victorious Iraq would emerge with a great part of its modern fighting force of a million men in 40 divisions equipped with sophisticated weapons from both East and West, well trained in logistics and battle control still intact.

It has also been the Israeli consensus that the Iranians were not faring well in this war. The country was in economic ruin; the Iraqis enjoyed absolute air and armoured supremacy; Iranian offensives had failed consistently for the past 14 months; and there were overt signs of the first cracks in Iranian national morale.

Given this analysis, which is the one on which Peres, Rabin and Shamir based themselves, the supply of anti-aircraft and anti-armour capabilities to the Iranian armed forces exactly dovetailed with Israel's interest in giving the Iraqis enough to carry on with, but not enough to win with.

On the more pragmatic and parochial level, by going along with the arms deal, Israel would be able to renew stocks of

missiles approaching the limit of their shelf-life; facilitate the release of the American hostages from Hizbullah captivity; re-opening the way for Israeli retaliatory action against the Shi'ite fundamentalist movement; and enhance the pragmatic working relationship between the defence agencies of the U.S. and Israel.

If this reasoning is accepted, there remains the perplexing question of why Peres, Shamir and Rabin decided to act on their own and in direct contravention of the understanding that all policy of the national unity government would be formulated by the bi-party inner cabinet.

A debate would have probably included reservations by some ministers about the possible damage to Israel's interests if the deal ever became public; the embarrassment to Jordan and Egypt, which support Iraq in this war; the impairment of Israel's image with Congress and the American public; and the doubts cast on the credibility of Israel's and America's leadership in the world's fight against terrorism.

But there would have been no doubt of majority support, especially given that three inner cabinet members, Ezer Weizman, Moshe Arens and Ariel Sharon, all supplied arms to Iran in the past for reasons similar to those now being questioned.

THE ESSENCE of success was obviously the secrecy of the operation. Peres, Shamir and Rabin learned long ago that even the inner cabinet is not a leak-proof sanctum from which no secrets are revealed. No matter how trustworthy each individual minister may be, inherent in a wider forum is a wider dissemination of secrets. The more ministers in the know, the more aides, secretaries and confidants involved, the less chance of keeping a secret.

The small format was neither new nor unprecedented. Recently it has been used to deal with the Pollard spy scandal, the General Security Services case and the Vanunu atomic secrets affair. There are probably dozens of still-secret examples.

Whether the inner-inner cabinet, uniquely composed of three prime ministers, did or did not err, will long be debated. The fact that Israel's role has been clarified has allowed for a rational consideration of many of the factors that went into making the decision.

The wisdom of that decision, however, will have to await judgment until the final consequences can be assessed - including the damage done to President Reagan, an unprecedented friend of Israel, Secretary of State Shultz (who, a senior minister once jokingly observed, "should be declared Israel's patron saint") and to Israel's standing with the American public.

## A Saudi finger in every pie

Washington Correspondent Wolf Blitzer details the extent of the Saudi involvement in backdoor arms deals

THE MESSY matter of U.S. arms shipments to Iran - via Israel - becomes more complicated every day, and with the American news media dropping almost everything else in order to pursue any new lead, the scandal threatens to get even worse.

While Attorney-General Ed Meese was dropping his bombshell that between \$10 million and \$30 million in profits from the U.S.-Israeli arms shipments to Iran actually found their way to the Contras fighting in the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, the national security adviser, Vice Admiral John Poindexter, resigned; his top deputy, Lt. Col. Oliver North, was fired. It was North, according to Meese, who had "precise" information of the arrangement. But Poindexter also knew of it - as did former national security adviser Robert McFarlane.

If the U.S.-Israel-Iran-Contras connection were not enough, now enter Saudi Arabia - in the person of Saudi billionaire Adnan Khashoggi. It seems that the Saudis, in their own inimitable style, have decided to hedge all of their bets in the region.

Like Israel, the Saudis have wanted to establish some links with potentially more moderate elements in Iran. These Iraqis might play a

role in a post-Khomeini power struggle.

Saudi Arabia has several reasons for pursuing such overtures with Iran.

First, Iran may well win its war against Iraq. Why not be on the winning side?

Second, the Saudis have always been prepared to pay "protection money" so that the Iraqis do not bomb Saudi oil ships in the Persian Gulf or infiltrate Moslem terrorists on the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Third, the Saudis do not want Iran to stir up other Shi'ites in the Persian Gulf states.

Yes, the Saudis were also financing the Iraqis in the war. But that does not mean much. It was not the first time that Saudi Arabia was playing off both sides in a conflict.

Khashoggi, who has made a fortune in selling weapons, has had a longstanding personal relationship with Ya'acov Nimrodi, an Israeli arms dealer in London. Nimrodi, who has made a considerable but much smaller fortune, served for 10 years as the Israel Embassy's Air Force Attaché in Teheran. He speaks Persian. He is personally very close to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, who used him to set up meetings for both of them with

Khashoggi in recent years.

According to informed sources in Washington, it was Khashoggi who first introduced Nimrodi to Manucher Ghorbanifar, a well-placed Iranian arms dealer in London who is very deeply plugged into the top Iranian leadership, especially to Prime Minister Musavi and Parliament Speaker Rafsanjani. It was obvious from the start, according to sources in Washington, that Ghorbanifar was anxious to obtain more weapons, including from Israel.

Not long after this Saudi-Israeli-Iranian channel was opened, senior U.S. officials entered the picture, agreeing to cooperate in the new strategy toward Iran.

IN THE late spring of 1985, then national security adviser Robert McFarlane and then Foreign Minister David Kimche met in Washington and agreed on a general approach, which won the blessing of the president. What, of course, was then very critical to both the U.S. and Israel was that Saudi Arabia was also in on the deal.

There is a strong consensus in

Washington that Khashoggi is not an independent operator. According to informed sources, he does not do anything without first clearing it with Saudi Arabia's King Fahd and others in the royal family. "He knows where his bread is buttered," one source said.

As further evidence that the Saudis were making up to the Iraqis, U.S. and other diplomatic sources in Washington cite King Fahd's decision to remove oil minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani from his post earlier in November. Khashoggi was reported to have been instrumental in setting up this ouster as a means of pleasing Iran. Yamani's policy of lowering international oil prices has greatly angered the Iraqis, who are dependent on oil exports for much of the funding of their military machine. They made it

clear that they wanted Yamani out. According to informed sources, Khashoggi visited Iran in October of this year. Iran's oil minister subsequently demanded the removal of Yamani. On Monday, the London *Financial Times* reported that Yamani has been ordered by the king not to leave the country. "King Fahd is evidently worried that if Sheikh Yamani left Saudi Arabia, he might tell his version of the story," the report said.

Thus, Khashoggi was clearly willing to cooperate with Israel in the effort to open up links to Iran. Curiously, therefore, former secretary of state Alexander Haig's supposedly silly concept of forging a "strategic consensus" among America's friends in the Middle East - including both Israel and Saudi Arabia - was actually falling into place.

Middle East specialists in Washington had ridiculed Haig's highly-publicized notion, arguing that the Saudis would never join forces in any common strategy with Israel. It seems Haig really did know what he was talking about.

Khashoggi had the go-ahead to establish ties with Israel - and he did. Since the early 1980s, for example, he has worked closely with Nimrodi.

The Saudi billionaire, who truly sees himself as a bridge between Arab and Jew in the search for peace in the Middle East, also met with other Israelis, including Peres and Sharon. He reportedly met with Peres at the Regency Hotel in New York during Peres's first visit to the U.S. as prime minister in 1984. He earlier had met with Sharon in Africa. Nimrodi was instrumental in setting up both of those meetings. There have been others as well.

Meantime, the Saudis were working closely with the U.S. in funding anti-communist rebels in Afghanistan and Angola. *The New York Times* reported on October 23 of this year that the Saudis had reached such a formal agreement with the

Reagan administration as part of the American surveillance aircraft sale to the Saudis in 1981.

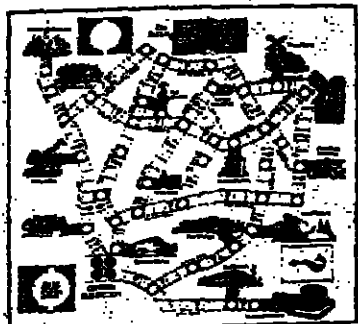
The newspaper noted that during a meeting between King Fahd and Central Intelligence Agency Director William Casey in February 1984, the Saudis agreed to fund the Contras in Nicaragua as well.

A key connection between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia in the Contra operation was reportedly retired U.S. Air Force general Richard Secord - today a private arms dealer - who had worked closely with the Saudis during the Awacs battle on Capitol Hill. Secord is also very deeply involved in channelling arms to the Contras, according to several U.S. press reports.

Israel has also cooperated with the U.S. in Central America. Recently, for instance, the two countries have joined forces in trying to strengthen the military forces of Honduras. There are all sorts of other joint projects underway.

ISRAELI OFFICIALS deny that they directly arm or fund the Contras. They also deny that they knew anything about the secret Iranian arms funding to the Contras. But such Israeli denials are today met with scepticism in Washington.

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First Session, 11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

The Impact of Modernity on the Study of the Jewish Past

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Welcome: Chancellor ISMAR SCHORSCH  
Chairperson: Prof. SHAMMA FRIEDMAN  
Presenters: Prof. MOSHE GREENBERG, Prof. LEE LEVINE  
Respondent: Dr. ISALAH GARNI

Lunch, 1:00 - 2:30 p.m. by reservation only, in the Hilton Hotel

Second Session, 2:30 - 4:30 p.m.

The Meaning of Judaism for Modern Israel

משמעות היהדות במסגרת ארצות-ישראל

Moderator: Prof. REUVEN HAMMER  
Participants: Dr. RAPHAEL AKZIT; Dr. MICHAEL ROSENBAUM; Prof. ELIEZER SCHWEID; Mrs. BARBARA SPECTRE

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**היפרכול**

לקנות וליהנות מכל היחידות



# Hindenburg has died and Hitler is Chancellor now. I'm afraid...

THE DIARY of a young Jewish Riga school girl has come to light which invites the inevitable comparison with Anne Frank's. Not only could the girls be mistaken for each other according to their photographs, but their first names are also almost the same, Anne and Anni.

The family name of Anni is not known, since it is not mentioned in the diary. All that the entries tell us is that Anni's father was a doctor, that she had a younger sister named Lucy and the names of some of her teachers.

The copybook-size diary is written in an easily legible German, bound in well-preserved brown fabric.

The story of how it reached Israel is itself fascinating. After Latvia and its capital Riga were captured by the Germans in World War II, a German soldier took the diary from the family's house or apartment.

He apparently saw a certain value in it and sent it to a friend in Berlin, who was in hiding because he was a half-Jew. This friend is now deceased, but his children recently sent the diary for safekeeping to Yad Vashem as a *Zeitschrift*, a testimony of the times. The soldier who found it fell in the war.

The diary spans five years. It opens on January 27, 1934, when Anni was 11 years old, and the last entry is on July 29, 1939, when she was 16.

Nothing is known about her fate or that of her family. It must be assumed that they perished in the Holocaust.

Yad Vashem has hope that, through the publication of the diary, relatives of the family here or abroad may be located. A reader may identify the family through clues contained in the entries.

Anni clearly was a sensitive, precocious and gifted girl. It is safe to say that had she lived, she would have developed into a valuable human being, with much to give to society. Apart from the leitmotif of her ardent Zionism, there are astute observations on human nature, world politics and the gathering storm of Hitlerism in her book.

Indeed one can read premonitions of disaster and death into some of her remarks. Yet her entries also contain refreshing glimpses of the universal concerns of teenagers; the class party at which nobody asks her to dance, the teasing fights with her younger sister.

Perhaps we owe it to Anni that we read her diary. Perhaps she is giving us something that is pure and idealistic — and lost.

The photo of Anni was pasted into the front cover of her diary. The entries chosen comprise about 15 per cent of its total.

**January 27, 1934**  
I would love to write for a newspaper and become a real author. Mama said one day she would sooner see me become a doctor, like Papa, but I don't have the slightest desire to do that.

**February 5, 1934**  
Yesterday I went to the movies. I saw *The Young Queen Luise*. Rosa Katzenellenbogen later blamed me for seeing a German film. Very stupid of her. Can't one even go and see the life of the German emperors and empresses? At that time there was no Hitler and no Hitlerites.

**February 9, 1934**  
I hate the communists from the bottom of my heart. They allow the people to starve and thousands die of hunger and the resultant sicknesses.

**February 25, 1934**  
I have a nasty cold. While I was dressing this morning, I suddenly felt an unnatural serenity come over me. I thought I have so much going for me, should I complain about a little unpleasantness like a cold? I felt a strength in me and an inner peace. Yes, I will overcome not only small but also bigger obstacles and worries. I must become a writer, come what may.

**March 23, 1934**  
You poor orphans. The chief beauty of childhood is denied you. You know nothing of parental care and love. You don't know what it's like when a mother embraces her

child and strokes its hair. Your childhood is loveless. It is good when friendly people take you into their home. But they will never replace your real parents. You only have your Father in Heaven.

**March 30, 1934**  
Today is Good Friday. It is not our holiday, but it still puts me in a special mood. On the radio there was a talk about "The Holy Fire in Jerusalem." I felt as if it was night, and I saw lights in the distance. Beautiful, such a mood.

**March 31, 1934**  
Lucy has read my diary. As a punishment I will no longer tell her any stories. But she begs me on bended knees to go on. A strange girl.

Now I can no longer put my trust even in my diary. Lucy sticks her snooting little nose into everything.

**April 4, 1934**  
Lucy is really a little Xanthippe. She beats me up. But I won't let a girl who is two-and-a-half years younger than I beat me up, and I hit back.

Lucy sometimes complains that Mama loves me more than her. That's stupid. A mother loves all her children equally and has time for everyone.

**April 6, 1934**  
How rough boys can be. Today some Latvians called me a "kosher-body" and threw paper at me. I simply told them: "You're a bunch of stupid boys." But why this aggression? Didn't the Jews fight alongside the Latvians for the country's liberty? Then we were appreciated, but now that Latvia is free, they can do without us. Is that just?

But the Jews will not be kicked around forever. One day they too will see the dawn of liberty. If Latvia could gain its freedom, why shouldn't Palestine be able to do the same?

**June 1, 1934**  
Yesterday there was a rumour that Papa had been arrested. I don't know who dreams up such nonsense, but the patients telephone and ask whether they can come. Such a stupidity; Papa is not a social democrat, which would make him liable for arrest.

Sometimes — without any reason — I feel depressed and have tears in my eyes. I don't know why. It will probably pass soon. I will grind my teeth and try to hold back the tears.

**June 4, 1934**  
In the synagogue they preach that we must fight for Latvia and they sing the Latvian national anthem. I love Latvia very much. The Jews have many privileges and are allowed to work and open businesses.

**June 9, 1934**  
I've written a poem, called *The funeral procession*. Even Lucy says that I have talent, and coming from her that means a lot. Usually she just says: "Hm, not bad." She is jealous. She says she has no talent for anything, while I'm going to be a writer.

**July 10, 1934**  
A painful feeling; one wants to, but one can't.

**July 14, 1934**  
Man wants to know everything, even what happens after death. But he will never find that out. Everything has its limit.

**July 20, 1934**  
Today Mrs. Freudenstein read my poems and said she liked them very much. She thinks I'm going to be a poetess. Papa thinks so too. I hope that my heart's desire will come true.

**July 26, 1934**  
Dolfuss has been shot. That's the work of the National Socialists. His last words were for his wife and children, and that he hoped his murder would not cause additional bloodshed. Maybe this is Hitler's doing?

Today is my name-day. We Jews don't usually celebrate this, but Martha (our maid) brought me a cake decorated with flowers. Very nice of her.

**August 2, 1934**  
It is difficult to be good, when that leads to suffering.

**August 3, 1934**  
Hindenburg has died and Hitler is chancellor now. I'm afraid for the consequences.

## THE DIARY OF ANNI X

*Ich schreibe Gedichte und will... in der Zukunft einer Zeitung...  
habe ich... geschrieben...  
Ich möchte so gerne in der Zeitung schreiben...  
eine richtige Schriftstellerin...  
wünscht mir das von ganzem Herzen...  
eines Tages gesagt, sie würde es lieber sehen...  
wenn ich ein Doktor würde wie mein Papa...  
aber ich verpasse dann nicht die Gelegenheit...  
hüte. Schon mehrere Jahre ist es mein Wunsch...*

Edited, translated and introduced by Ernie Meyer

**August 24, 1934**  
A father's good name helps his family after he is dead.

**August 25, 1934**  
I have one burning desire — for a free Palestine. But this should be achieved without war. Palestine is closer to my heart than Latvia, but the English and the Arabs rule in my beloved homeland.

**September 23, 1934**  
I want to amount to something. Most of all, I want not to be forgotten after my death.

**January 1, 1935**  
I think that such thoughts as I have don't often go through a child's head. I'm probably different from other children my age.

**February 12, 1935**  
There is so much sunshine inside me, that I would like to share it with others. I can't do it now, but there will come a time when I will be able to.

*"If you want to be happy yourself contribute to the happiness of others."*  
*The joy we give away comes back to our own heart."*

**April 3, 1935**  
Courage, Courage. If people don't understand you now, they will do so later. If you believe in the nobility of your actions, continue carrying them out.

**May 14, 1935**  
For Mothers' Day, I let Miss Demant read my poems. She said: "Anni, you have a talent that you must nurture and develop." She made me feel so good. Miss Demant also read my poems to the sixth grade, and all the girls loved them.

**May 22, 1935**  
In Palestine no one dreams that there is a girl in Latvia who has no fonder desire than to see the country free. I want to be a genius. I read somewhere that compared to genius mere talent is nothing. Miss Demant told me that I have a talent. Maybe. But a genius I'm certainly not.

**June 21, 1935**  
I have only one sister, and I would like to live in peace with her. But she keeps on hitting me, and still, I love her.

**June 29, 1935**  
I have overcome the trauma of the fight between Father and Mother. Oh, this unhappy argument. Father was so angry that he went back to Riga right away. Mother's tears did not move him. Father, Father, how could you torture us so? Didn't you feel pity for your wife and your children? For a time, I felt I would never marry. My parents' marriage

has always been a model to me, and suddenly, suddenly...

**July 1, 1935**  
How difficult it is to study subjects for which one has no inclination.

**July 6, 1935**  
I hope I'll never have to write poetry for a living.

**July 7, 1935**  
Lucy says that Palestine will never gain its freedom, or perhaps only in a thousand years. I, on the other hand, hope and am convinced that this will come to pass soon.

**July 22, 1935**  
Romain Rolland is right. One must learn to face the truth, even if it is bitter, very bitter.

**July 28, 1935**  
Clothes make the man. This proverb is unfortunately only too true. Before the rich, all bow down.

**August 18, 1935**  
What is in store for me when I'm grown up? Will my road as an author be steep and full of thorns? Come what may, I can take all the knocks.

**September 2, 1935**  
I don't know who is right in the argument between Italy and Abyssinia (Ethiopia). The Italians have no right to colonize the Ethiopians, but perhaps it's for the latter's best because they are a half-wild people? On second thought, Abyssinia belongs to the Abyssinians.

**September 3, 1935**  
Why did they sing two Latvian hymns in the synagogue this morning and not the Jewish one? We have time for the songs of other nations, but not for our own.

**October 26, 1935**  
When I finish with school, I want to go to Palestine, to a free, Jewish country. That's the only thing I want to work for. I love the land of my forefathers more than anything.

**November 29, 1935**  
How can a mother make her child unhappy on purpose? How could Sara refuse to allow her daughter Lea to marry a Christian, only because he belonged to a different religion? What does it mean to be religious? Not to hold on fanatically to one's own religion, but to see God in all religions, that is the real, the true religion. To tear apart two hearts which have found each other is against the "law of nature."

**January 25, 1936**  
Today is my birthday. I got many beautiful gifts; the one I liked best was *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Grandmother gave me two books in Latvian, *Queen Victoria* and *Abyssinia*. Both are very interesting.

**January 29, 1936**  
At one time I wrote in my diary

that the Revisionists are not sufficiently idealistic. Now I've changed my mind and have become a Revisionist myself. I hope my parents will allow me to join the Trumpeldor youth movement.

**January 29, 1936**  
One day it was particularly noisy in the arithmetic class. So much so that Miss Loewenstein had to call the principal. I had marked the names of the worst offenders on a piece of paper. Everybody thought I would give the slip of paper to the teacher, and after the lesson they all started to berate me. But I stood up to them and told them that what I do is none of their business. Then they threatened me.

Miss Loewenstein took me aside when all the others were gone and advised me never to do such a thing again — it's useless anyway. "You know that I like you very much," she said and drew me towards her. "Give me a kiss," she said, and we exchanged kisses.

**February 14, 1936**  
I feel so bad today. I think my classmates no longer accept me. They think I'm conceited and want to be better than everybody else. If they only knew how wrong they are.

**March 7, 1936**  
Today I'm more cross with myself than I have been in a long time. I want something and I don't know what it is. I want to cause somebody a very special joy, because it is Purim tonight.

*"What's wrong, my heart why are you so sad? what a strange new life, I no longer recognize you."*

**March 18, 1936**  
I think there is something wrong with Mama; she is so serious and cross most of the time. I'm sad because she is sad. I'm going to pray to God that everything will be all right again. For Him that is a small thing, and I would be so happy if everything would once more be the way it was.

**March 27, 1936**  
Papa won't let me join the Trumpeldor. He tries to dissuade me and says that I'm still a child and liable to change my views. But to me it is clear that a free Palestine will always be my ideal.

**April 5, 1936**  
I long so much to go to Palestine, but I feel sorry for grandfather and grandmother, who will have to remain behind all alone.

**May 10, 1936**  
Today is Mothers' Day. A girl in my class will recite my poem *To my Mother*, and the whole class has to learn it by heart. This is the first poem of mine that is being taught in school. I hope that in time there will be more.

**May 12, 1936**  
What will become of Palestine, with the unrest there and when will it end? The Arabs don't stop attacking the Jews and killing them. They want to stop immigration. But Palestine is our last refuge, and by rights it should belong to us.

**May 14, 1936**  
Tomorrow is Latvia's independence day. If only Palestine were already at a stage where it could celebrate its own national holiday without having to think about the English or the Arabs. Free, entirely free of foreign rule. It must be marvellous to be master in one's own home. Of course, the English don't want to spoil their relations with the Arabs, and refuse to take energetic steps.

**May 18, 1936**  
Of course, the Italians won out over the Abyssinians and are masters of that country now. It's always the same story; the stronger is master.

**May 26, 1936**  
Last year and at the beginning of this year, I couldn't stand Miss Loewenstein. I had an inexplicable dislike of her. I was not delighted when she became our class teacher this year, but after only a few days my attitude began to change. I soon started to appreciate her, and now I like her.

**June 3, 1936**  
We had our class party yesterday. I gave Miss Loewenstein a package of raisins. When she gave me a kiss, her pince-nez fell off her nose, but she didn't break. After tea there was a dance, but I am seldom asked. I danced a little with Miss Loewenstein, but she doesn't like it any more than I do, and is no good at it. I walked home with her and we kissed each other. I told her I like her very



much. She said: "I like you too." My grandmother has now arrived from Dunaburg. But she will soon go back to Russia, to my uncles.

**June 13, 1936**  
We are now at our summer home in the Waldpark. I'm reading books on Mozart and Beethoven.

**June 15, 1936**  
I'm now a student at the gymnasium (high school). It seems as if only a short while ago I was in the second grade.

**July 3, 1936**  
I think things are finally quietening down in Palestine.

**July 12, 1936**  
Oh, why can't I be in my beloved Palestine and suffer and fight alongside the people there? Why do I have to stand by and read how innocent people are shot and killed; how drivers risk their lives to keep the roads open, and how doctors and nurses bravely enter the Old City of Jerusalem to help the wounded?

**July 12, 1936**  
I have never loved anybody or anything as much as I love Palestine.

**July 16, 1936**  
I'm afraid that immigration to Palestine will be interrupted for months. The Zionists do what they can, but I'm afraid nothing will help.

**November 21, 1936**  
It's the tragedy of the Jewish people, the centuries-old wound that burns in their hearts. Most of the time, we control ourselves, but sometimes the dam bursts. (David) Frankfurter can't be held responsible for killing Gustloff (the German leader in Switzerland). How his heart must have burned with pain for his people and hatred of the Germans. I know this burning. I felt it often this summer. That's the tragedy of us Jews.

**May 8, 1937**  
What will become of *Eretz Yisrael* (written in the diary in Hebrew). Will the English really carve it up into cantons? The Zionists, if they do that they are nothing but traitors, traitors!

**June 2, 1937**  
Sister Schura lent me Herzl's book *Altneuland*. At bottom Herzl predicted Palestine's development correctly. But unfortunately, that development is much slower than he foresaw. He wanted to see half a million Jews entering the country in one big movement, but in fact it is now 20 years after the Balfour Declaration and there are only 40,000 Jews in the country.

**November 3, 1937**  
The main thing is love and forgiveness. One must learn to understand people; then, in most cases, one will stop judging them. And another thing: never forget that we are only human, with human faults and that only God has the right to judge.

**February 2, 1938**  
When I'll be a teacher I will try to understand my pupils. I would like to be as popular as Miss Demant.

**February 9, 1938**  
When I was younger I wanted to join the Trumpeldor, but now I don't want to anymore. What the Revisionists want is all well and good, but I happen to think that political parties twist everything. I would like to see a free Palestine, but how can this come about? The Arabs, too, have their rights, which must be taken into consideration.

**March 7, 1938**  
I'm still a Revisionist, and I'll probably always be one. I want Palestine to be free, but without war and bloodshed.

**June 22, 1938**  
I don't think I still want to become a teacher. Teaching school means to be buried alive; it's different giving private lessons. I would like to study philology.

**September 22, 1938**  
When I'm grown up I want to write a novel about Herzl. Not a biography, but a novel which will bring out his human side. By then his personal correspondence and his private diary will probably be available.

**October 14, 1938**  
I don't like it that Jabotinsky left the Zionist Party. We Jews must stick together.

**November 5, 1938**  
We need a place of refuge, all the more so now that our situation is deteriorating. Just remember how the Polish Jews have been evicted from Germany.

**November 7, 1938**  
I've read that Herzl's marriage was unhappy. His wife did not understand him. If only I had been in her place! I would not only love Herzl but also become a companion and support for him.

**November 25, 1938**  
If I could only help the German Jews. That is my ardent wish now, but unfortunately it won't come about. A pity.

**November 25, 1938**  
All culture is phony. It's only a thin skin which hides the real man, the wild beast.

**November 27, 1938**  
I think I've lost all enjoyment in learning from books. I am tired, very tired, and still, I have to study all day, dumb, mind-numbing stuff.

**November 30, 1938**  
*My spirit roams afar way ahead of my body.*  
*My thoughts reach for the stars but my limbs can't keep up.*

Where is justice: on the side of the Jews who were driven from their ancestral land and now want to return, or on the side of the Arabs, who have lived in Palestine for centuries?

**January 19, 1939**  
I am plagued by the notion that perhaps I'll achieve nothing in my life. Zionist parties should become one.

**March 21, 1939**  
We're sitting on a powder keg. Mama and Papa are seriously talking about the possibility of war.

**April 25, 1939**  
I believe that childhood and adolescence are the nicest time of life. I'm afraid my dreams will evaporate as I grow older.

**May 8, 1939**  
I think we Jews have sounder instincts than any other people; no other people has survived so much adversity, and we've always had the strength to hold on to our faith. A miracle? Just the same, a Jew does not seek escape in wine, but often, very often, religion leads to degeneration.

Our helper is the Master of the Universe, but we are led by our own strength.

**June 24, 1939**  
I have such a desire to work and create, to write poetry; and yet I can't. There is an emptiness in me. I'm afraid I'll never, never have the opportunity to become a writer.

**July 10, 1939**  
I haven't written any poems for a while. I hope that the poem I wrote on April 12 is not my last one.

**July 29, 1939**  
The desire to write poetry never leaves, not even for a day. I want to write, write.

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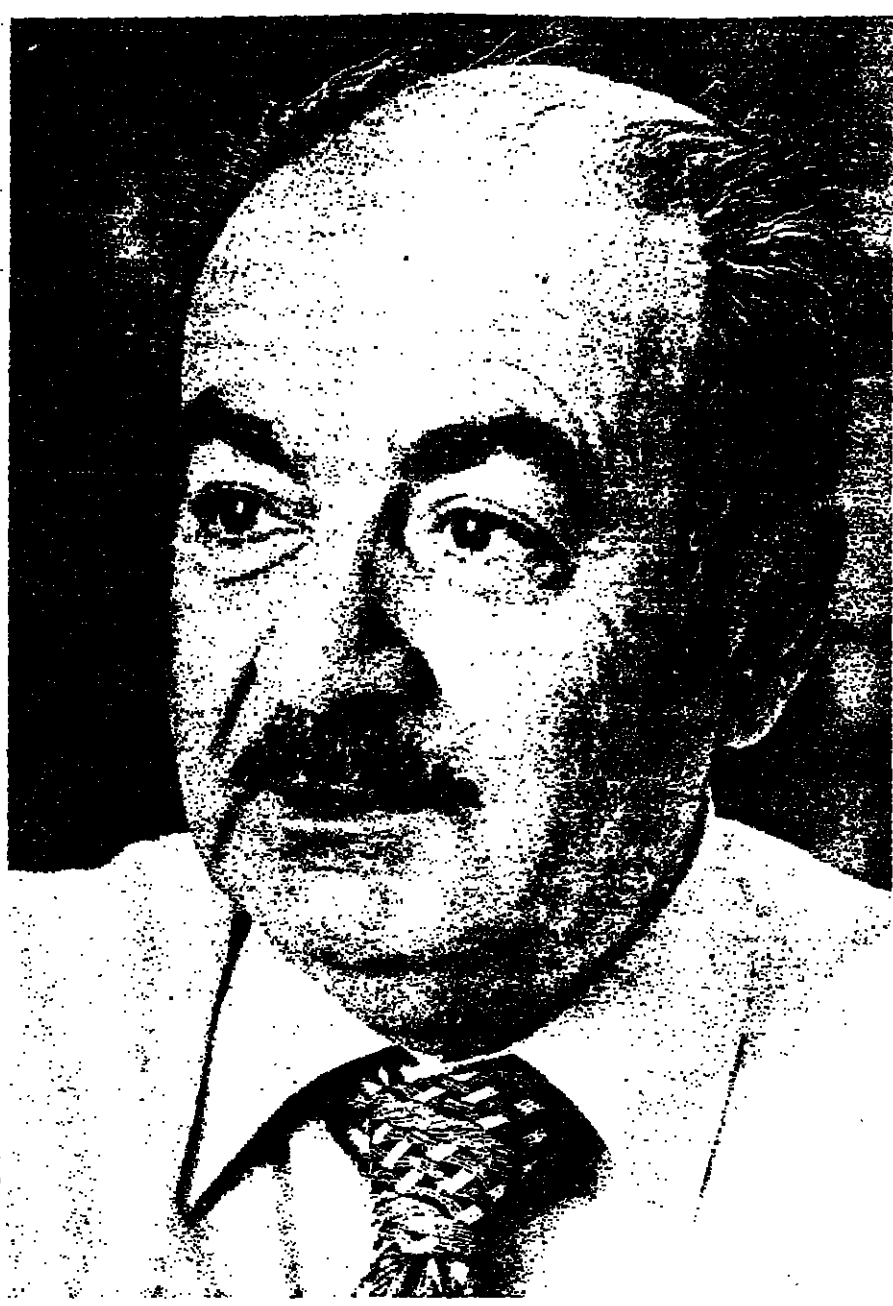
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# A Palestinian who wanted to make peace

Dan Bavly recalls a close friend, Aziz Shehade, the Ramallah lawyer known for his liberal opinions who was murdered a year ago



(David Robinson)

AT nine o'clock on Monday evening, December 2, 1985, the news arrived that my friend Aziz Shehade had been murdered. He had just parked his car in his garage and was crossing the courtyard to his apartment when an assassin slit his throat and disappeared into the night. Aziz, the man of law and peace, had become the victim of violent crime.

Early in 1968, together with David Kimche, I published *The Sandstorm*. In it we wrote:

"Aziz Shehade...one of the leading lawyers in Palestine...fought tenaciously for years for the rights of the Palestinian refugees, acting as their unofficial adviser and spokesman. Now he believes that the cause of the Palestinians - and especially the refugees - can best be served by peace on honourable and favourable terms for the Palestinian Arabs, and he has worked courageously to foster this belief. His views are being repeated in ever-widening circles among the Palestinians. The only way, in his opinion, was to reach a settlement with Israel. The two countries, Palestine and Israel, aligned together, could become a veritable Garden of Eden in the Middle East," he declared. Few then had the courage to utter such words in public."

I drove to Ramallah for the funeral on Wednesday, December 4. There were many people, both Arab and Jew, in the street outside the Shehadeh home. I went upstairs and into the apartment which I had visited so many times before. Now, it was full of mourners: Fuad, Aziz's brother, and Raja, his older son, were sitting at the far end of the room. Fuad, who had been completely blind for several years, was weeping. He looked so helpless. Raja had arrived home from overseas only a few hours earlier and was still totally stunned. I shook their hands but hardly said a word. Then, I caught the eye of Seeham, Aziz's oldest child, who was sitting with her sister. She was married to a banker and lived in Amman. I went over to her. Gently, she said, "Dan, you came, thank you for coming," and a minute later she called me to sit by her.

Seeham was very sad but collected. She had come from Jordan the previous day. "You do not come over often, do you?" I knew the Israeli officials put obstacles in the way of West Bank expatriates or families, discouraging them from visiting, let alone returning to, areas under Israeli control. "No," she said and explained, "You see, I come over on an Israeli identity card but your authorities will not enter my two sons, aged five and seven on it, because they were born in Jordan. And I do not want to leave them behind." Then she added resolutely, "But now, I'll come more often."

WHEN I first met her, Seeham was a striking young lady, a teacher of English in a local school. I had been told that Seeham in Arabic are "arrows" - and her penetrating, beautiful eyes and full awareness of events clearly indicated that the name suited her. Now, a proud mother, it was evident that the years had been kind to her. Her younger, shy sister had grown up in her shadow. Also living in Amman, in fairly close proximity, she seemed almost as quiet and demure as she was when I had first met her, back in 1967.

Like everybody else, Seeham was quite sure that her father's murder had been not politically motivated but criminal. Perhaps, she thought, it was connected with his confrontation with some corrupt Palestinian judges who were making a mockery of the law which he so respected. He had recently succeeded in getting a number of them jailed. Or possibly the assassin had been sent by people who did not want his clients to win their appeal against an absurd verdict handed down by one of the same corrupt judges.

She spoke a little of life in Am-

man. "We have it good there," she said. "It is safe and comfortable. I often tried to persuade my father to move across the river, to make his peace with the king and to pay allegiance to him. He would have been received with respect and honour. But, as you know, he could not bring himself to do it." Although in recent years he did travel to the Jordanian capital to visit his daughters and grandchildren, Aziz had always been critical of the monarch. He had repeatedly told me how he hated Hussein. "No, we know that there was not a chance. He could not forgive the king for the events of the Fifties." Many years ago, I had been told that Aziz had been retained by the assassin of King Abdullah, Hussein's grandfather. Although no charges were ever made against Aziz, the grandson had, in frustrated anger, some time later jailed him for several years.

Aziz's widow, Wedad, joined us. She wished to know whether the Israelis would help find the murderer. "I'm sure they will," I assured her. "And do I think it advisable to announce a reward for anyone whose help would lead to his capture?"

I promised I would return to see the Shehadeh family and went into the next room. Aziz was lying in an open coffin, as if asleep, a sweet, good friend. Arab village women were chanting and I moved down to wait for the funeral to begin. The mourners were beginning to move. Aziz had been an Anglican but heading his cortege were a number of bishops from various denominations, including the Anglican, Armenian and Greek Orthodox churches. Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek was also there, with some of his assistants.

AZIZ was born in Bethlehem and grew up in Jaffa. His father, Bolous Shehade, was a well-known editor and writer, of moderate views, in British-ruled Palestine. Aziz himself was a proud Palestinian nationalist, a careful man, uncomfortable with any form of extremism. He was aware of the volatile character of the Arab community to which he belonged. History indicated that their passions often erupted on holidays and memorial days. For Muslim holidays such as Id el-Fitr, it was for him, therefore, sensible to prefer an Israeli resort on the Mediterranean to staying at home.

Many West Bankers regarded him as an "Uncle Tom" but Aziz always took care not to cut off contact from the more radical Palestinian position. He often defended people accused of terrorism, like Bishop Capucci. Thus, he protected himself and his family from Arab terrorist activity. It was believed that in recent years he was not in any serious physical danger from the main sectors of the PLO but that in no way downgrades his essential courage. And of course there were always the threats from the more radical faction, Habash, Hawatneh or Abu Nidal.

AT HOME that evening, I reflected how it was the end of an epoch, at least for me. An age of friendship between David Kimche, Aziz and me which had begun quite suddenly on Friday afternoon, June 9, 1967. On that fifth day of the Six Day War, I was in Ramallah with Kimche, who had been asked to re-activate the Ramallah Radio Broadcasting Service. The Israeli authorities, as unprepared as any to find themselves in charge of a million Palestinians, were seeking ways to pacify the area and give it a semblance of normality. It was thought that one way would be to restart radio transmissions.

Locating the proper executive staff was proving somewhat complicated and we had picked up a Palestinian editor who was trying to help us. While the search for the head of the station was on, the Palestinian took us to a little house and intro-

duced us to Aziz. The Palestinian did not tell us why he was doing so. He merely said the meeting might be of interest to us. Aziz, according to my diary for that evening, "seems to have waited for us."

"Mr. Shehadeh offered us coffee and introduced us to his family, his wife still under the shock of the war, and his mother-in-law, his lovely daughters...and to his teenage sons. We tell him our problem and he gets a relative to accompany me to the village to find the ex-radio director."

"...Shehadeh is a serious man, somewhat over 50, an advocate who represented the refugees in Lausanne, in the 1951 repatriation negotiations. He seems interested in helping us."

"Before we leave, Arieh Rosenbloom, a well-known Tel Aviv criminal lawyer, like us in the reserves, in a major's uniform, accompanied by another lawyer, dashes into the house and asks Shehadeh to act as defence lawyer the following morning. It appears that there are a few 'curfew' breakers and they should receive a summary court martial, but they have a right to defence, and Rosenbloom, who represents the advocate general, asks Shehadeh to help expedite justice."

It was an extraordinary period, not least because of the general euphoria being experienced by Israel and her friends. Equally exciting was how Aziz was "discovered" by the Israelis. All sorts of matters, from general peace between the people to maintenance of the law, involved him.

When Kimche and I left on that first Friday evening, Aziz invited us to return as soon as we could, if possible by morning. By then, he would have a blueprint for peaceful coexistence ready.

We were still very excited when we showed up in the morning at his house. Clearly, he was in a similar mood. His two-page memorandum suggested the establishment of a Palestinian cabinet and constituent assembly. It could convene within a week to authorize the commencement of negotiations with the government of Israel to establish the friendly independent State of Palestine on the principles of the United Nations decisions of 1947. Being a meticulous lawyer, Aziz had not only outlined the concept but had gone into considerable detail as to how the political and legal mechanism would operate.

As an important annex to his memo, he had spelled out which West Bank and Gaza Strip personalities should be invited or co-opted into the founding government and assembly. It was clear to him that time was of the essence, that the programme should be enacted fast. He urged that the first constituent meeting take place within 10 days and preferably a week. He did not want to allow the elements hostile to such a plan, i.e. Hussein or the PLO, time to recover from the shock they were obviously in. It should become a *fait accompli* by no later than the end of June.

With one exception, Kimche and I were very impressed. But the borders between Israel and the Palestinian entity, we pointed out, would have to be those drawn in 1949 and not those recommended by the United Nations in November 1947. "I understand and respect your position," Aziz said, "but to get the West Bank leadership to convene, we need a legal basis, which the United Nations resolution is. Your point would be part of the negotiations following the first convention."

This was and remains a unique document. At no other time, either before or since, has a public Palestinian figure come out with anything like the call made then and later by Aziz Shehadeh, for the establishment of a Palestinian state which would acknowledge Israel's inalienable right to exist within recognized borders and in peaceful coexistence with a neighbouring Palestine.

The following morning Kimche

and I reported our meetings with Aziz to ex-chief of general staff Zvi Tsur, who at the time was acting deputy to Defence Minister Moshe Dayan. We were soon given to understand that the government might be interested in the proposal but that there was some scepticism in general and certainly about the pressure of time. The chances of having it adopted were at best moderate to fair.

For the next few days, Kimche and I were busy driving up and down the West Bank, meeting and interviewing the people on Aziz's list. By the end of the week, the senior Israeli authorities had become curious about the work of two junior officers. After asking on whose authority we were acting, they discovered the vagueness of our plan. At the same time, they saw how interesting it was and decided it was too serious to be left in our hands. I was sent home.

Kimche was seconded to Reserve Major-General Chaim Herzog and together they continued with their fact-finding for some time longer. Their reports were an eye-opener for many senior Israelis but the enthusiasm that Aziz had hoped the Israelis would have for his proposal was not there. Gradually, he realized that his dream would have to wait.

I HAVE since lived with the memory of that first afternoon and the following days, not least of how "he seems to have waited for us." The whole encounter with Aziz, including his assurance that we could travel to remote villages, almost instantly told us that here was a man one could trust.

He was not an idle utopian but a tough businessman with a practical political bent. And in spite of brief periods of discouragement, he re-

mained an optimist who continued - carefully - to try to establish some form of lasting understanding.

Gradually, he came to believe that the chances for the creation of a truly independent Palestinian entity were much more distant than he had dreamt in 1967. He began to search for other political solutions.

He considered, abandoned and reconsidered the advantages of having the West Bank annexed to Israel. "In that way, we could possibly assure ourselves some kind of civil rights," he would say. Rather than having the Palestinians live in occupied territory, ruled by an alien military government, yet taxed by the State of Israel, it might not be such a bad idea to blend Judea and Samaria into Israel, provided their residents were given the vote. "No taxation without annexation and representation," was a motto he played with. And the Palestinian representatives in the Knesset, he reasoned, would offer constructive opinions. "But the Israelis will never agree to such a move, the demographic threat would be too ominous," he would say, rather sadly I thought.

Whatever the outside pressures were, we remained friends and looked forward to our periodic meetings. He enjoyed being quoted in the Israeli press and international media, indeed was proud of it. He dreamed of writing a political book himself. After Kimche and I published *The Sandstorm*, he toyed with the idea of co-authoring a book with me on British manipulations as they divided and ruled Mandatory Palestine. He was, for example, sure that it was they who were responsible for instigating the murder of King Abdullah. Later, we discussed and even drew up the first rough synopsis for another book, *I Am a Palestinian. I Am an Israeli*, in which we would describe how, in spite of our very widely differing heritages, we could move towards peaceful and prosperous co-existence. But like so many of the daydreams we shared, it came to naught.

A FEW days after I returned home in that summer of 1967, I joined the West Bank military government. In this capacity, I found I had an excellent excuse for keeping up my personal contacts with Aziz. By this time our families were joining in some of our encounters.

I can recall one evening when my wife, Ilon, came with me to the Shehadeh home for dinner, followed by music. While Aziz and I talked politics, Ilon exchanged observations with Wedad. Wedad is a knowledgeable and intelligent person who enjoyed her husband's protection and seemed to have led a fairly sheltered life. She had gone to school with Israeli friends of ours and knew a lot about our way of life.

She found it difficult to understand how Israeli mothers could let all their sons, upon reaching 18, be

conscripted for at least three years' military service, which often included real action and even war.

They visited us, too. One day, Wedad, Seeham and Ilon went shopping together in Tel Aviv. The fact that the ladies were comfortable with each other certainly helped in our friendship.

Although we were friends, there was one obvious difference between us. I represented the occupier and, however enlightened we might think ourselves to be, Aziz belonged to the occupied. For security reasons, his people were policed, not always in a comfortable way. There were curfews and regulations to mind, licences to apply for. Aziz took these restrictions easily, with understanding and some humour - observing that we were not quite as difficult as the Jordanian officers had been. Unlike other public personalities, I knew of only two requests he made for special treatment. One was that we try to locate and bring his brother Fuad back to Ramallah.

When we had first met, on that Friday, Aziz thought that his brother had got stuck in Jericho when hostilities began but when we returned on Saturday morning, he had already received word that Fuad had safely crossed the Jordan and was in Amman. (We were amused by the efficiency of communications among people in the immediate trauma of occupation, under curfew, with no telephone lines and prohibited from driving - but that is another story.) Even before Fuad's return, I realized that the two brothers were very close, partners who complemented each other in many ways.

Due to the efforts of many people to cut Israeli red tape, Fuad returned to his family on August 31, 1967. I met him that day. At first, he found it difficult to accept the new warmth and trust between Aziz and his Israeli friends. But that soon changed. Although I never became as close to Fuad, I found Aziz's brother a fine, gentle person, less politically-minded but more practical and businesslike. He is a diabetic who has had a serious open-heart bypass operation. Then, a stupid car accident led to a mistreated eye illness and he became totally blind. Neither the wealth nor the warm-hearted support of his family could help him. The doctors, both in Israel and in the United States, diagnosed that the mistaken treatment administered in the West Bank hospital was irreversible. Courageously, Fuad continued his daily routine at home and in the office as best he could.

When speaking with Raja, one is reminded of his father. But he is a personality in his own right. Aziz was proud of him - as he was of his whole family. I believe that Raja will continue in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, fighting by peaceful means for justice and co-existence. I know we shall continue being friends.



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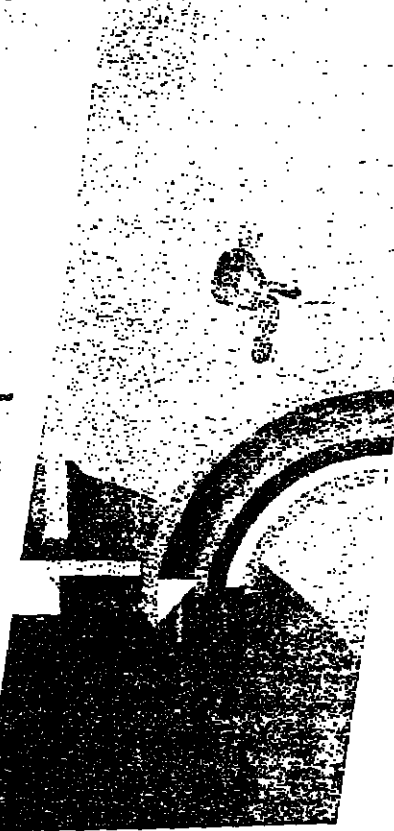
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THE BIG question in the corridors of power this week is how much fallout will drop on our top trio - Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin - from Ronald Reagan's "Iranian caper" - to borrow a phrase from his predecessor, Jimmy Carter.

Some people who should know, think that former Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche may well be fingered for his pioneering position in shaping Israel's role as America's delivery boy of arms to Iran. During his recent New York trip, Peres summoned Kimche to his hotel - I am reliably told - to question him on the identity of the "senior Israeli official" who allegedly leaked the Israeli involvement story to the U.S. media.

There are those who call Kimche "Mr. Teflon," noting that he emerged unscathed from his key role in forging ties with the Pierre and Bushir Jemayel clan in Lebanon.

AT SUNDAY'S cabinet meeting there were mutterings about Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev's continued absence abroad despite the police's continuing failure to control the Jerusalem disturbances since the fatal stabbing of Eilat Amedi. This was the first time, I'm told, that the IDF had to be called to help the police in a civil disturbance. The lack of direction was compounded by the hospitalization of Acting Police Minister Yigal Hurvitz - he has a fractured leg.

SOME ministers privately take issue with Premier Shamir's decision to have the government maintain a low profile and to abstain from a TV and radio appeal for calm in Jerusalem. His policy of leaving Mayor Teddy Kollek as the only visible public figure opposing incitement also left Teddy bearing the brunt of heated feelings. It was explained to me that it was not lack of leadership, but measured calculation that led Shamir "not to play into the hands of those seeking to drag in the political level."

ANY CALLER waiting on the phone at the Tel Aviv law office of Mordechai Vanunu's attorney Amnon Zichroni, hears the sound of "Jingle Bells," an American song traditionally associated with Christmas. It certainly does remind one of the new religion of his latest client.

## The accusing finger points



David Kimche... "Mr. Teflon."



Haim Bar-Lev... "missing."

Public Faces / Mark Segal

ONE CAN only admire the stamina of President Chaim Herzog for his feat of flying over 49,000 globe-circling kilometres and delivering 33 speeches in seven Pacific countries where the Israeli flag is hardly, if ever, shown. Praise, too, for his wife Aura, who emerged well turned out at each stop. Premier Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres both aired the view that "this was not just a regular visit but a major operation."

MK Pinhas Goldstein, with his carping criticism of the trip, spoke for those who see our state as a shield. As Herzog has said: "The president of Israel should meet the pope in Jerusalem, not at any wayside inn."

I gather that Herzog will hold a Beit Hanassi summit of our economic leaders about a trade offensive in the Far East and Australasia. He had an eye-opening meeting about diplomatic and trade prospects in China, with Hongkong Jewish magnate Lord Kadoorie, who lately signed a \$3 billion deal, along with Britain and France, with Peking for a nuclear power station. The tycoon's father endowed the Kadoorie Agricultural School where the late Yigal Allon and Rabin studied. It may be said that Herzog marked David Ben-Gurion's centenary by pursuing the Old Man's vision of the Jewish State reaching out to the Far East.

Herzog reportedly is full of praise for his accompanying Foreign Ministry trio - Haim Bar-On, Avi Primor and Ehud Goll. Many think that Bar-On, No. 2 in our foreign service

hierarchy, is the best choice to succeed Meir Rosenne as ambassador to Washington. When asked how he felt after his recent triple by-pass heart operation, Rosenne remarked: "Oh, I'm used to being by-passed."

AMBASSADOR to Paris Ovadia Sofer's penchant for publicity reached a peak in his rash Friday eve TV appearance in Paris in which he defended French Premier Jacques Chirac's denials of his Washington Times interview - before the full text was released. Chirac blamed Israel, not Syria, for the Nezar Hindawi attempt to blow up an El Al plane.

Even Shamir, Sofer's erstwhile patron, concurs with the view that his term should not be extended when it expires next summer. I'm told that ex-MK and banker Zalman Shoval has turned down the post, preferring to stay at home for political developments.

It's interesting to observe how former British Home Secretary Leon Brittan has become a "born-again Jew" since quitting office. He quoted lengthily from the Bible in Hebrew in his speech at this year's successful Balfour Day dinner at the Daniel Hotel in Herzliya, presided over by Israel, Britain and Commonwealth Association chairman John Furman. Ever Weizman breezily told the gathering: "It's a great achievement in politics to be able to resign." Brittan referred to the lasting impact on Anglo-Israeli relations of the

"fantastic reception" accorded here to Premier Margaret Thatcher. There was no trace in the hall of the radio-active cloud of words emitted by the Vanunu case.

THE HEIR to the Forbes publishing empire, Stephen Forbes, 40, earned the concurrence of Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi (his host at a Tel Aviv Dan Hotel luncheon) when arguing that Israel's economic progress hinged on reducing government controls and tax reform. In a personal aside, Forbes quipped: "A prime ingredient of success is to pick the right parents."

FILM and stage star Jack Lemmon is currently wowing his Hollywood friends with his collection of IDF corps berets. During his recent visit here, Lemmon and Wall Street lawyer Leon Charney were en route for a tree planting ceremony at the JNF International Peace Park near Modi'in - under the aegis of a committee for which the star is president and the lawyer, chairman - when Charney arranged for the pair to visit the office of another friend, Defence Minister Rabin. The latter's aide piled the guests with coffee in the minister's absence, while secretaries crowded around the film star, who asked for the IDF berets as souvenirs. At that night's performance of Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night*, a Rabin aide turned up at Habimah with the berets.

While Premier Shamir found time for actress Goldie Hawn, JNF chairman Moshe Rivlin couldn't spare a half-hour to see Lemmon, the only actor who's won all the glittering prizes, an Oscar (film), an Emmy (TV), and a Tony (stage) award.

FOUR octogenarians who exhibited at the first Tel Aviv show of Eretz Yisrael modernist painters in 1926 and who then came to the opening of the "Sixty Years Later" land-mark display of surviving works at the Reuven Rubin Museum were the talk of the event. While David Navot came from Ma'alot, the other three are Tel Avivians - Yona Zelik, Tsiona Tager and Musya Bograshov. Museum creator Esther Rubin showed me Bograshov's charming painting of Rehov Herzl plus railway engine, which is unbefitting for lack of space. Her artist historian daughter-in-law, Carmela Rubin, who is the museum director, came in for praise at the opening for her detective talents in tracking down the works.

## The man with everything

The Tora reading for this week is Haye Sara (Genesis 23:1-25:18).

Tora Today  
Pinhas H. Peli

WITH RAPT attention we accompanied Abraham through the vicissitudes of a long life filled with dramatic events following upon each other almost without a stop. Suddenly, an announcement: "And Abraham was old" (Genesis 24:1). We wonder, what was the precise moment at which Abraham passed the threshold into Old Age. That he lived through a long and active life comprised of many years was obvious. Much had happened and was still happening in his lifetime even now. After passing his one hundredth birthday, he became a father once more. His life seemed to be pulsating, vigorously outside the frame of years.

The understanding of the statement announcing Abraham's old age lies perhaps in the context in which it was set. Abraham did not grow old gradually with the flux of years, but all at once. It was the death of Sara, his dearly beloved wife and life's partner for so many decades, that made him suddenly feel old, alone in this world, listless and perhaps even useless.

It must be said in praise of the ever-resourceful personality of our father Abraham that he knew how to take old-age as a blessing and teach the world a lesson in how to age with dignity and grace.

*Ve-Avraham zaken ba ba-yamin* is translated in the New JPS version: "And Abraham was old, advanced in years." In the old translation: "And Abraham was old, stricken in age." This may indeed be the apparent meaning of the phrase, but the Hebrew original offers much more than just "advanced in years," and does not say anything at all about being "stricken" in age. Translated literally, *ba ba-yamin* would mean something like "came with the days," or "came into his days."

Abraham reached old age, bringing with him not a fragmented life whose parts could hardly be added up together; he brought with him all the days of a life lived from beginning to end, as one conscientious continuum.

Some people squander their years over the length of a life-time and, when they reach old age, they are

pitifully impoverished and empty-handed. Others, however, come into old age rich and accompanied by all the days of their past years which have not been wasted, nor lost on the road or forgotten. Such were both Abraham and Sara about whom Tora tells us that when they grew old they came there *ba-yamin* with all their days. They could now look back with content on a life full of blessed activities that could be added up into one impressive tally.

Sara is the only woman in the Bible whose age is given: "And the life of Sara was a hundred years and twenty years and seven years" (ibid., 23:1). "Years" is repeated with each number to indicate that she remained the same person through all the passages of age.

Ancient philosophers wondered what is the real connection between the child of seven; the person and its prime in the twenties and the same person at 120. What makes him or her both physically and mentally the same person? In Sara, the rabbis indicate that it was the inner beauty of her personality which had preserved its wholesome integrity and remained the same whether at the age of seven years, 20 years or 100 years.

The same stability runs through the life of Abraham as well. He arrived at old age as his events-packed life was not merely "behind him," ready to be "dispatched" and forgotten, but all his days were "with him" even now. For Abraham, old age was a continuation, an added sequel to life, rather than a break-away from it.

THE SAGES in the midrash (Genesis rabba 63:4) note that there is no other person in the Bible, until Abraham, about whom we are told that he grew old. Oldness simply did not exist in the life of humans, until Abraham pleaded with God to grant to us as a precious gift. Not that people until that time did not live many years. They did, but they would go on living the same life, from childhood until death, without noticing the passage from one age to

another, in which the rabbis see a great blessing.

Said Abraham to God: "Lord of the world, a man and his son come in together, and no one knows how to differentiate between the two, who is older and who should be honoured first. Please make the old look their age, and the young look theirs. The Almighty immediately agreed with Abraham that this was indeed a great idea and chose Abraham the first person to be old. Thus it says, "And Abraham was (the first to be) old." God and Abraham agreed that old age is not a thing to be ashamed of or to cover up. There is nothing more pathetic than a grandmother of granddaddy trying to dress and look like a yuppie. There is nothing more dignified than old folks who know how to act their age gracefully.

The story is told about the aged Madame Rothschild to whom her doctor said carefully after an examination: "I am sorry my dear lady, even with all your money, there is nothing I can do to make you younger." And she answered: "You are a fool, my dear young man; you do not understand that it is not younger that I wish to become, but older, older."

"AND ABRAHAM was old and advanced in years and God blessed Abraham with everything" (ibid.). "Everything?" Was Abraham that proverbial "man who had everything"? Was there ever such a person? Tora testifies that indeed Abraham was one. Not that he actually had "everything," but that he was blessed by the Almighty with the feeling that he *does* have everything! "Blessed is the man who trusts in the Lord..." They who seek the Lord's will not lack anything good. Those words of the Psalmist (34:10-11), which Jews repeat daily in Grace, after-meals, were interpreted by a great hassidic master to read in the following way: "They who seek the Lord shall not lack (Why? because, for them) anything (is) good."

Acknowledging the fact of his old age and with it the feeling that he has got "everything" that life could have offered him, Abraham settled down to take care of his affairs, planning the future of his family and ensuring that the ideas and ideals which guided his life would be continued even after his departure.

## Enough to freeze the blood

Telereview  
Philip Gillon

weapons to Khomeini, I complained indignantly in this column about our becoming "merchants of death." I remember quoting the creed of Andrew Undershaft, the munitions manufacturer in Shaw's *Major Barbara*, that the armorer must give arms to all men who offer an honest price for them, without regard to colour, creed, race or ideology.

A similar point of view to that of Undershaft was expressed by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir when he appeared on the news on Tuesday night to explain the Iranian connection. He said in his simple, frank way, "One must realize that countries that produce arms must also export arms in order to maintain their arms industries... Israel must participate in this arms sales race."

When Shamir was prime minister three years ago, he said, in the course of a fireside chat, that his greatest difficulties arose from his ignorance of economics, and that he was frantically reading books about "the grey science." I am pleased to see that his reading has borne fruit, and that he now comprehends the basic laws of economics, as expounded by Undershaft.

But it seems that his views, and my own views when I wrote that tirade about our becoming the armorer of Khomeini, were naive and simplistic. Of course, I did not know the full facts. It now appears that our suppliers of arms to Khomeini were not simply looking for profit, like Undershaft.

A young man once went to the family doctor and said, "Doctor, please give me an injection of some loathsome disease." The doctor naturally expostulated, saying, "Are you crazy? What are you talking about?"

"Doctor, please don't argue about it, just do it. I'll pay you handsomely."

"But why?"

"Well, if you must know, if I have a loathsome disease, I'll give it to the

maid, she'll give it to my father, he'll give it to my mother, she'll give it to the lodger - and that's the bastard I'm after."

It now emerges that the aim of the arms suppliers to Khomeini was not the acquisition of filthy lucre, as we all thought at first. Nor was it to distress President Saddam Hussein, of Iraq. Like the young man in the story, we had a more remote objective: what we were trying to do by supplying Khomeini, was to help the Contras overcome the government of Nicaragua.

It was red-blooded Israeli and American patriotism that inspired the deal between President Ronnie Reagan and his merry men, and the Israelis. Of course, if some of those millions of Swiss francs or German marks passing through all those Swiss bank accounts happened to drift into a few private Israeli accounts, there was nothing wrong with that. Patriotism must have its perks.

Israeli arms dealers no doubt had another noble and patriotic aim - to provide the United Jewish Appeal with a shot in the arm. It was inevitable that Khomeini, in his boundless gratitude to Israel for providing him with the arms he needed so desperately, would order his gangs to launch anti-Semitic pogroms.

For a long time we have been urging the Jews remaining in Iran to emigrate to Israel: now they will realize how right we were. The Jewish Agency will have to organize "Operation Persian Carpet," with a consequent boom in donations to the UJA. Another devious aim achieved.

What with all those Swiss francs, German marks and American dollars coming into Israeli hands

through these arms deals, some of us may even be able to afford Israeli tomatoes.

THE IDEA of giving arms to Khomeini may have shocked us at first, but we came to think of it as a *mitzvah* when we saw the BBC-Herb Krosney film, *The Secrets of Samarra*, on Second Look, reported in detail in *The Jerusalem Post* at the beginning of the week.

It began by showing us how the Iraqis are using mustard gas to kill and maim Iranian soldiers. Ten thousand have been killed so far, and many thousands terribly injured.

Then the film unravelled the secrets of Samarra, a vast complex in the desert where the Iraqis are producing both mustard and nerve gases. The nerve gases - CS, Sarin and Tabun - are 40 times as effective as primitive mustard gas.

Robert Wallace of the BBC and Herb Krosney of Israel did some brilliant investigative reporting as they dug out the secret sources of supply to Iraq of the precursors, the name given to the chemicals that are brought together to create the nerve gases.

Naturally, most people would assume that the villains in the sketch were the dastardly Russian Communists or their satellites. But - surprise! The Reds have nothing to do with the chemical weapons of Iraq. The suppliers of the precursors are very respectable firms in Holland, Italy and the USA. Every Iranian soldier disfigured all over the body and coughing his lungs out means another fat dividend for those companies.

How Wallace and Krosney penetrated the secrets of these corporations, as well as of governments and their agencies, is beyond my comprehension. Obviously, somebody wanted the world to know what was going on, and tipped them a wink. Whoever did it certainly gave them a television scoop.

They produced their film not only in anger, but also with a fine sardonic touch. As backgrounds to showing the swanky corporate offices of the villains, Wallace and Krosney used travel shots of the cities in which they conduct their evil business - we saw the cathedral of Milan, the gondolas of Venice, the flowers and canals of Amsterdam, the peaceful streets of Nashville, Tennessee. Charming!

So the film hit with the impact of an old-fashioned 1,000-pound bomb. The blow was intended by a press report from a British newspaper that the Syrians, also, have an arsenal of nerve gas rockets, with which they can reach all parts of Israel.

Ah, but we have nuclear bombs, if we are to believe Vanunu, so we may

get in one jump ahead of the Syrians! No doubt the world will watch with great interest the confrontation between the nerve gases and the split atoms. Who is doing a better job for humanity - the chemists or the physicists?

In the BBC-Krosney film, somebody describes the nerve gas rockets as the poor man's atom bombs: they are not only very much cheaper to make, they are also much simpler. Is that so? Nothing can stop these proliferations. "The moral of it all is that we should enjoy life to the full while we still have it. Our prospects of dying comfortably in our beds of old age are becoming somewhat remote. So let us eat, drink and be merry. Do we all get the message?"

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FEATURES

# Count your hardships

Macabee Dean

ISRAELI TELEVISION recently depicted the pitiful plight of a charming young Canadian immigrant named Sharon running the "cruel gauntlet" of heartless Israeli bureaucracy. Her Via Dolorosa - some 25 stations - generated honest compassion, until we compared her hardships with those of a potential investor who has to face 57 stations of agony before he gets all the documents necessary for losing his money legally.

But the comparison is not really valid, for in the second case we are trying to protect ourselves from being ripped off by some rapacious capitalist out to make a fast buck on our account, while Sharon is only trying to find a home for her dreams.

A better comparison would be with those hardy pioneers who preceded her here at the turn of the century.

They did not face malevolent bureaucrats, but troubles of another kind: scratching a bare subsistence from a swampy soil infested with malarial mosquitoes; a new climate for which they were ill-prepared; roving bands of marauders out to steal anything not nailed down. Deadly cholera, not indifferent bureaucrats, stared them in the face.

They burned with fever - both decimating malaria and uplifting Zionism, but the latter easily overcame the former. They were not offered virtually free dwellings and other amenities in exchange for a couple of signatures, but built their humble huts with their own hands. Their hands were calloused, not manicured.

For them, a treat was a glass of cool water. They never faced the problem of making a choice between ice-cold, Coca-Cola type soft drinks, local and imported beers, and wines; for them a good meal was a dry pitta and some black olives - and a bit of halva on Friday evenings.

Those were the days when men were men and women were double-breasted, wearing daintily short bloomers which showed their hairy legs.

AND YOU, Sharon, are complaining because 25 clerks are doing the work of one; you are complaining because you have met with inefficiency and waste on every side, because you are not greeted by a smile of welcome.

WHY DON'T YOU thank the powers that be that you can go to sleep peacefully every night after chaining down your TV and your video, double-locking your car and your flat, and throwing the switches of electronic anti-theft devices? Compare the ease of your life with that of the old-timers, who mounted guard all night long after a terribly hard day chopping away at a mattock. Compare their following a "mule down a seemingly endless and rock-strewn furrow wearing open sandals, to your strolling down a long, air-conditioned corridor in your comfortable, thick-soled rubber sneakers. Would you recognize a comparative Paradise if you saw one?

While you are waiting in an overcrowded room for a bumbling bureaucrat to finish his tea while he is conjuring up new deceptions for you, think of the sparsely-populated country at the turn of the century. You have a splendid opportunity to make lifelong friends with others waiting their turn to be harassed. You may even meet a handsome young man eager to marry a "passport" to Canada.

Such a one will look up to you, Sharon, for he has only a hard-earned high-school diploma, while you are an "Anglo-Saxon" (whatever that means in your context) with a college degree, who can earn her living typing English in an export company, or can even manage a word processor if you want to upgrade your skills.

If it clicks, all your folks will fly over for the wedding ("You never looked so beautiful, Sharon"), and be so proud of their pioneering married daughter facing a harsh future in her three-room flat, with her new refrigerator, oven, colour TV, video, and so on, and her little car parked outside.

THINK OF YOUR hardships another way, Sharon. If one clerk were to do the work of 25 (which is quite possible after eliminating all duplication and unnecessary tasks, what would the other 24 do? Would they go settle the Negev or Galilee, or work in a textile factory earning a pittance - for productive physical work in Israel pays only a pittance - or would they emigrate to Brooklyn and drive taxis in Manhattan? You know the answer, Sharon. It would be, "Here I come America. Where is my Green Card?"

Would you really like your new-fangled ideas of efficiency to cause 24 men, who with their wives and children would constitute at least 100 persons, to emigrate.

Could you live with your conscience?

SHARON, you come from Canada, which lies to the north of the U.S. Have you been infected with the faulty political philosophy of that country - that man's purpose is the "pursuit of happiness"? Did you expect to find the same degenerative philosophy here?

We have a much deeper ideological purpose: to fulfil our duty of mutual help and mutual responsibility. It is your duty, Sharon, to help 24 redundant clerks to earn an honest living. Do your duty with a smile.

We old-timers do. For example, we have an over-abundance of doctors. But we find work for all of them. With a little effort and imagination, each and every one of us can turn a minor ache into a life-threatening situation. We create long, quarrelling queues to help our doctors maintain their self-respect.

Or take a personal example. The other day I received a NIS 7 bill for the "levy" on my car. (It is a very old car.) I was given the choice of paying it all at once, and receiving a 15 per cent reduction, or of paying in four equal instalments of NIS 1.75. Paying in one go would have saved me time and NIS 1.05. But it was the cruel way, the heartless way.

So I chose to pay in four instalments, because I had the welfare of the bloated civil service in mind, and I could create work for them. Moreover, since the cost of processing these four NIS 1.75 payments will undoubtedly outweigh the government's income from same, I have also provided work for the tax authorities, who will have to impose new taxes to cover the difference. Programmers will be needed; the computers will hum; reams of paper will pour forth. Do you see, Sharon, how a little thought can benefit others?

And how many times have I queued up to buy one lone stamp to help provide work for the postal clerks, to give them a sense of importance instead of bying a dozen at once? A little kindness, Sharon, goes a long way. Cast your bread upon the waters.

YOU COMPLAINED that you felt unwanted here. But have you really tried to meet us half-way? Can you take a mouthful of sunflower seeds and spit the shells out on a cinema floor without using your hands? Can you blow smoke-rings at a no-smoking sign in a public place? Can you toss banana peels on the sidewalk? Can you board a bus with the proper sideways thrust of the body and the use of hard elbows, knocking down a little old lady, all the time shouting, "There's plenty of room inside, don't push?"

Sharon, you are treated differently because you are different. You have failed to follow the world's most ancient adage: In Rome, do as the Romans do.

Nobody promised you a rose garden; you yourself admitted that you had been warned about a crown of thorns. Have we broken our word?

I CAN HEAR your unvoiced objections: "The old-timers '70 and '80 years ago had to suffer real hardships; I am forced to suffer artificial, man-made unnecessary deceptions."

Sharon, the answer is simple: In Canada, the Indians still carry out the ancient tribal custom of making a boy prove his manhood in many gruelling ways before he can call himself a "brave"; and a girl must prove her cooking and sewing skills before she can call herself a "squaw". We have the same practice here, but we call it surviving bureaucracy with a smile. Or to phrase it differently: outwitting Israeli bureaucracy separates the men from the boys, the women from the girls.

If you had the courage, the inspiration, the idealism and the drive to come here in the first place, you already have the makings of a good Israeli. There is no reason why you should not even get a job in the civil service and make life miserable for others, so that they can also prove their stamina. There is no reason for their acclaturation to be easier than yours; this would be a type of kindness bordering on pampering. It would have disastrous results. Character is forged in a crucible of hardships; it is not bestowed with a smile and a rubber stamp on an official document. To paraphrase an ancient saying: Spare the bureaucracy and spoil the immigrant.

Think of the immediate satisfactions as you make newcomers squirm in agony; imagine the distant rewards when you tell your grandchildren, with a deprecatory smile of the "hard old days" of 1986 in Israel, when things were really tough, when caviar was eaten only on Hanukkah, when imported Scotch cost NIS 20 a bottle, and most Israelis thought bourbon was a dynasty of French kings.

You can admonish all soft newcomers with: "You are getting Israel served to you on a silver platter. Thank heaven that you never had to face the hardships of 1986."

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of The Jerusalem Post

THE ARREST of Armenian Archbishop Shahe Ajamian has left the Religious Affairs Ministry's department of Christian communities smarting, because it came as a complete surprise.

"Of course, we were not the only people who were not consulted by the police," notes Daniel Rossing, who heads the department. The Foreign Ministry, which also has a legitimate interest in what happens to high-ranking Christian clergymen, was also kept in the dark.

Rossing tended to discount the feeling in some church circles that Ajamian had been a friend of Israel and that his arrest indicated that such friendship with Israel was not worthwhile. Cooperation with the authorities is not something that is unique to Christians or church people, but an element which must be considered in a general context, he said. The authorities must simply decide in each case whether any services, if they were given, compensate for alleged wrongdoing.

Concerning reported help by Ajamian in the sale of property, Rossing said that property transfers were largely determined by economics. The conditions of any transfer (whether it is outright sale or lease, for example) are determined by politics, he added.

Nor is the archbishops' arrest the only way the department has been touched by the police investigation. Rafi Levy, the Jerusalem District Representative, with whom Ajamian was arrested, was closely involved with the workings of the Christian churches and, according to press reports, Levy's absence will leave a wide gap in this area.

Rossing, a soft-spoken personality, adept at the circumlocutions sometimes necessary for his work, stresses that he does not want to belittle the "contribution of Rafi Levy or of any other official body working with Christians." On the

# The go-between

The arrest of an Armenian archbishop in connection with allegations of bribery has focused attention on the delicate nature of the government's relations with the minority religious communities. Haim Shapiro reports

other hand, his department is the only one to have regular contact with the some 500 Christian institutions in the country.

Just how complex these dealings may become is apparent when he notes that the nature of the contact depends upon the church in question. For the eastern churches, the links are primarily with the hierarchy, which holds absolute authority, while with, say, the Roman Catholics, it is necessary to work directly with the head of every monastery, institution and religious order.

To a sense, he sees one role of his office as serving as a go-between, linking these institutions with the Israeli bureaucracy. In theory, at least, it should be possible for the Christian institutions to deal directly with the authorities, but this theory disregards the sensitive nature of these institutions and that Israel, for its own best interests, wants to maintain good relations with them.

In practical terms, the go-between role means contact with the tax authorities and the customs, not to speak of the police. It can involve anything from helping a nun to fill out a form in Hebrew to arranging for a major religious procession or conference with high-ranking clergymen from abroad.

"We don't discourage church groups from having contact with other officials; in fact, we welcome it," Rossing says. As an example, he points to the many church schools

that in the past were neither recognized nor funded by the Education Ministry. After the Greek Orthodox Church arranged to put its school under Education Ministry supervision, others followed suit.

THE OFFICE also represents the government at religious ceremonies. In fact, for the prestigious events, such as the Roman Catholic Christmas celebrations, there are always more than enough Israeli officials willing to be present. For less-publicized ceremonies held by smaller churches, it is not as easy to find officials willing to attend.

In this function, Rossing, an observant Jew who wears a kippa, feels that it is particularly important that he present a positive image of religious Jewry to groups who may not have had such an image.

The Christian communities are minorities, and they have a long history of suffering and persecution, he notes. They are very sensitive in ways that we as Jews can recognize and understand. The smallest incident can worry them and cause fear.

At the same time, he added, many of the churches have links to one or more states which perceive that they have an interest in defending the church in question. Any problem of the churches may have more than local implications.

This international aspect is also seen in the constant visits of church dignitaries to a country which, after

all, is a focus of the Christian faith. Because contacts with the Foreign Ministry might involve political implications, and the churches are wary of that, they turn to the Ministry for Religious Affairs for help with such visits.

Again such matters involve great attention to details, many of them concerned with security. Though he is well aware of the requirements of security, Rossing stresses that he is concerned with eliminating inconvenience as much as possible.

Other constant visitors from abroad are the many journalists, study groups and scholars who come to study and to report on local conditions. Here he is concerned with presenting a positive image of the state in its relations with Christians, and it is to Rossing that such individuals and groups turn for this point of view.

BUT THERE IS a grey aspect of the work as well. Things do not always run smoothly. Many of the churches have faithful in the Arab states, over whom the Jerusalem hierarchies have jurisdiction.

It is no secret that there have been cases of smuggling in the past, and in at least one case, that of Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, a church dignitary was found to be smuggling weapons for terrorists. In the past, it was Levy who dealt with the sensitive issue of permits for churchmen crossing the Jordan bridges.

Here Rossing sees no need for concern. If Levy does not carry out this function in future, someone else will do it, he says. In any case, he adds, the authorities are always interested in things running as smoothly as possible, with the understanding that it is not always possible to allow free passage for all wanting it.

In fact, the number of church people permitted to pass freely over the bridges was reduced after the Capucci case. Some must submit requests for one-time passes, and Rossing's office handled such requests.

There is always, he says, a certain conflict of interests in the needs of security and the freedom which one would like to accord religious personalities. Rossing sees his role as making it as easy as he can within the limitations set by the security forces. And if there are discussions concerning the limits of security, then the ministry should be involved in such discussions, he adds.

He is aware of such needs in another way, because it is his task to make recommendations on the some 3,000 visa applications for foreign church people in Israel.

On a political level, his office is concerned with preserving and promoting the good name of the State of Israel. "We are aware that the churches operate in the Middle East in general and have interests in the Arab countries.

"We have no desire to make them into Zionists, but we do have an interest, especially in view of the services which they receive from the state, that they should not attack us unjustly for any reason, political or theological.

"This is clear to the churches, and when we feel they have been unfair or unjust to the interests of the State of Israel, then we discuss the matter. I have usually found great understanding and cooperation in this matter," he said.

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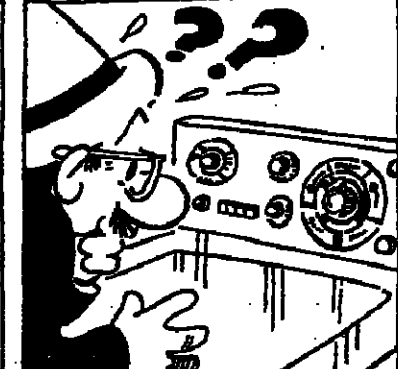
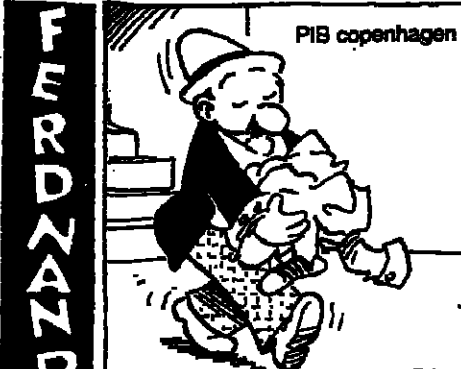
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Arye Naor considers Israel's handling of the arms deal with Iran and says that the angry reactions stem from the disregard of policy procedure in making decisions.

# Iran: Not what you do, but how you do it

IN THE LAST five years there have been at least ten reports in the foreign press that Israel was selling arms to Iran. Most of the reports originated with highly-placed Israeli sources — including a senior cabinet minister.

Ariel Sharon stated it explicitly in press interviews and, as everybody now knows, was entirely accurate. He even told a Jewish gathering in Connecticut about Israel's involvement in arms deals in the Gulf war.

However, what was considered kosher enough for an American synagogue meeting or for leaks to the foreign press (through other intermediaries, of course) was apparently inappropriate for an official briefing of the cabinet and the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee. They had to read it all in the press.

If senior members of the executive and the legislative branches of government were prepared to be treated in this manner they were clearly not functioning properly. They should be the first to know what is going on; the government has an obligation to report to them on matters of national and strategic importance. The fact that significant decisions are concealed from these bodies and at the same time reported or leaked to outside elements is highly irregular from a democratic point of view, and is sufficient grounds for a parliamentary inquiry.

Regardless of the success or failure of the outcome, this democratic postulate should be strictly observed. The procedure by which the decisions were made was, democratically speaking, defective.

The curtain of secrecy fell, in this case, not as a result of genuine national interests, but rather to serve the government's own convenience. The proof is in the press reports which revealed in detail what had been kept from parliamentary knowledge.

It was also a political error to withhold information from the Knesset committee. By reporting, in strictest secrecy, to a small sub-committee the government can usually get the desired consensus with regard to implementing specific policies. Furthermore, since front benches are bound by the secrecy to which they are party, they would not be able to criticize any negative consequences of the policy.

By sharing knowledge with the opposition a sophisticated government can also share responsibility should things go wrong. The present instance proves it. Had the government reported the Iranian deals to the committee or a sub-committee in time, it would have forestalled criticism from MKs.

This conclusion is supported by the reactions of angry members this week. They did not attack the merits or demerits of the policy but were highly critical of the disregard of their role in reaching foreign policy decisions.

CONSIDERATIONS of democracy and "due process" aside, a critical analysis of the policy itself is called for. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has explained Israel's approach to arms deals: "One must realize," said Shamir on television, "that countries producing arms must also export them in order to maintain the arms industries."

Clearly, an industry which does not sell its products cannot survive. But is the customer always right, even when it comes to the sale of weapons for inflicting death on a massive scale?

It appears that Shamir does not share that cynical point of view, since he also said in his statement that selling arms to Iran has not been Israel's policy, "but occasionally one makes exceptions."

For obvious reasons, the prime minister was not prepared to specify the occasions or to list the exceptions. All the same, he said people "were trying to besmirch Israel with various charges" and there were "exaggerations."

The premier's clarifications recall a previous occasion. On June 1, 1982, the then defence minister, Ariel Sharon, reported to a special cabinet meeting on his visit to the U.S. during which he had revealed details of Israeli arms sales to Iran.

"I did it," said Sharon, "because American official circles had leaked material to the media, on the eve of my visit, in order to portray Israel as the devil's accomplice." Claiming that a "campaign to besmirch Israel" was raging, Sharon told his colleagues that he was forced "to deflate exaggerated reports and portray the arms sales in their correct proportions."

Of course, Shamir's style is always been different from Sharon's. The prime minister has never accused official circles in Washington of waging anti-Israeli campaigns, nor has he employed such personal terms as "on the eve of my visit." Nevertheless, the resemblance between the contentions used by the two, is quite impressive.

It shows, in the first place, that Israel consistently attempts to play down the significance of its arms deals with Iran, since portrayals of Israel as a big international arms supplier would harm its image in the American public.

Second, beyond playing "the good Samaritan" in helping secure the release of American hostages, Israel has had an Iranian connection. This connection is the real basis of our arms sales policy to Khomeini's government, despite the business approach advanced by Shamir.

STRANGE as it may appear, the strategic concept behind the connection, which was never denied by Sharon, was at no time actually approved by the authorized institutions.

Even when Sharon had to explain his utterances in the U.S. none of his colleagues called for revising the policy. Two ministers did censure him, but this was for harming Israeli PR in America.

No one demanded a review of the arms sales policy or the decision-making process. Nor has any minister, since that time up until the present scandal, which could very well lead to a crisis in Israel's relationship with Congress.

What grounds did the decision makers have for believing that the sale of arms to Khomeini's Iran would restore the old friendship between the two countries once his rivals and opponents came to power, after or even before his death? How feasible is this concept? When, and in what circumstances, ought it to be revised? Are there alternative options? What impact could the arms sales have on the peace process?

Not only have these questions never been answered, they have never even been posed. Neither at the time Sharon revealed details of the arms sales nor now, when the political echelon is worried about the repercussions of our Iranian policy on America-Israel relations, has the policy itself been subjected to thorough analysis.

When will ministers and Knesset committee members finally speak out against such defective decision-making?

BUT EVEN reconsidering the policy is not enough. Somebody — probably the Knesset committee — should ask how it is that "exceptions" which occur only "occasionally," according to the prime minister, become policy. Mr. Shamir is absolutely right when he says that Israel has no policy of selling arms to Iran: the cabinet never decided on one.

How, then, does one explain that these "occasions" are so numerous? Sharon had an explanation. During his term as minister without portfolio in Shamir's cabinet, he said on May 15, 1984, during a lecture tour in the U.S., that "Israel had sold arms to Iran" in order to prevent an Iraqi victory which he claimed would have been a disaster for Israel. But if this really was the policy, who decided on it?

Is it possible that Israel's arms deals with Khomeini were not the result of well-formulated policy but the outcome of sporadic, tactical decisions lacking a comprehensive, strategic framework?

Well-acquainted as I am with the Israeli decision-making process, I would say that the answer, unfortunately, is in the affirmative; an instance of what Prof. Yehoshafat Harkabi of the Hebrew University defines as "tacticization" of the strategy.

And that should worry us even more than the arms sales policy itself and the defective decision-making process which produced it.

## SPORTS

Friday, November 28, 1986 The Jerusalem Post Page Seventeen

### SOCCER PREVIEW

## Clash of giants at the top

By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — A clash of titans marks this Saturday's National League soccer card, with the top three teams in the first division all playing at Bloomfield Stadium.

Leaders Betar Jerusalem face second-placed Hapoel Kfar Sava in the centrepiece game at 2.30 p.m. Betar looked unbeatable until last week when their winning march was suddenly halted by a 1-0 defeat in Beersheba. While Betar were losing, Hapoel Kfar Sava beat Maccabi Haifa 2-1.

Eli Ohana and Uri Malmilian have led Betar in scoring a league-leading 21 goals, and coach Dror Kashtan can add Gary Vandermeulen, Avi Golder and Yaacov Buzaglo to the attack. He also has right wing raider Shlomo Shirazi back — all of which will put a lot of pressure on the Kfar Sava defence.

But Kfar Sava have Adi Shamir in goal, who is having a wonderful season, and their defence is also bolstered by the plucky veteran Noah Einstein and Gideon Simon. Eli Yanni and new star Meir Nir-har are the potential goalgetters, and this should be a match well worth watching.

Shimshon Tel Aviv play Hapoel Beersheba in the early game, starting at 12.30 p.m. Both teams scored wins last week, Shimshon turning in their second 3-0 scoreline in successive weeks.

Efraim Arviv, Shlomo Mizrahi and Gideon Damti have been having some good games of late, but Hapoel Beersheba appeared to be coming back to their best last week.

Fourth-placed Maccabi Haifa, only two points behind leaders Betar, return home to entertain defending champions Hapoel Tel Aviv, who in their last three games have begun playing the football expected. David Pizanti, who has been lying back and forth to Cologne every few days recently, may not be fully fit. Maurice Jano, Eli Cohen and Moshe Sinai have found their top form in midfield, but the strikers are still sadly out of touch and this is coach David Schweitzer's biggest problem.

It is lucky that Maccabi Haifa have Daniel Brailovsky, for with Ronnie Rosenthal in Belgium, and Zahi Arnell and Moshe Selektor showing only little more than presence in the



JUBILATION AND DESPONDENCY. — Will these pictures of Uri Malmilian (Betar Jerusalem) and Adi Shamir (Kfar Sava) be apposite tomorrow night? Or will it be the other way round? (Guthmann)

attack, coach Shlomo Sherf is finding the going tougher than usual. Maccabi have scored only nine goals in nine matches, so their fans will be looking for brighter things in Kiryat Eliezer tomorrow.

The only unbeaten team in the National League, Be'er Yehuda, play Maccabi Tel Aviv in a derby game at the Hadera Quarter. Moshe Elensberg looked like the country's best striker last week and Michel Dayan has also fitted in splendidly since his transfer from Hapoel Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, Maccabi Tel Aviv are only a shadow of their potential. The main reason for that is the lackluster play of Avi Cohen ever since Maccabi refused Glasgow Rangers' purchase offer for their captain, blunting his career and, apparently, also enthusiasm.

Other fixtures: Betar Tel Aviv v. Maccabi Jaffa at Winter Stadium, today, 2 p.m.; Be'er Yehuda v. Hapoel Lod at Netanya, today, 2 p.m.; Maccabi Petah Tikva v. Maccabi Netanya at Petah Tikva, tomorrow, 2.30 p.m.; Maccabi Yavne v. Hapoel Petah Tikva at Yavne, tomorrow, 2.30 p.m.

### NBA BASKETBALL

## Nelson notches 500th — tops his old coach

NEW YORK (AP). — Don Nelson knew he was going to win his 500th game as coach of the Milwaukee Bucks. The question was whether he could do it faster than Red Auerbach, his former coach with the Boston Celtics.

"I didn't want it to linger," Nelson said after the Bucks beat Washington 122-103, putting him in 500-win company with 10 other coaches. "It was going to happen sooner or later."

Nelson reached 500 victories in

817 games, four fewer than Auerbach, who eventually won an all-time best 938 games for the Celtics.

Despite the 19-point margin, it wasn't until Milwaukee outscored the Bullets 43-28 in the third quarter that victory was assured.

The Bucks got outstanding games from Terry Cummings and Ricky Pierce, whom Nelson credited, along with Craig Hodges, with being the players that kept him from having to go through a rebuilding period.

Cummings scored 17 of his 30 points and Pierce 18 of his 28 in the decisive third quarter, which started with the Bucks leading only 52-48. Pierce was 11 for 12 from the field and Cummings 12 for 17.

In other NBA games: Lakers 126, Clippers 92; Rockets 92, Pacers 88; Mavericks 129, Kings 117; Celtics 101, Knicks 90; Nuggets 109, Bulls 107; Cavaliers 119, Trail Blazers 114; Suns 120, Hawks 106; Jazz 127, Sonics 91.



BOOM-BOOM BOUNCER. — Brad Gilbert.

### TENNIS

## Boris: Win one, lose one

ATLANTA (AP). — Brad Gilbert out-hustled Boris Becker to upset the two-time Wimbledon champion 7-6, 4-6, 6-3 in the second round of the \$500,000 AT&T Tennis Challenge.

Gilbert, ranked 12th in the world and seventh in this eight-man round-robin tournament, took advantage of each opportunity in the tight match with Becker, seeded third in the world and the tournament.

In the second set, Becker broke Gilbert in the fifth game and held serve to even the match.

But in the final set, Becker could not break the hustling Gilbert. Gilbert, however, cashed in his only break point of the set in the sixth game to go up 4-2 and served out the match.

Becker's loss came just one day after he disposed of McEnroe. But playing in the second round against second-seeded Mats Wilander, McEnroe bounced back strongly.

In other matches at the Omni, John McEnroe defeated Mats Wilander of Sweden 6-4, 6-3, from Leond of Czechoslovakia downed Vasek Pospisil of France 7-6, 6-7, 6-3 and Miklosa Meir of Czechoslovakia beat Mikhail Perfur of Sweden 6-4, 6-4, 7-5.

McEnroe won four straight points to come back from 15-40 to hold his serve in the fourth game of the first set, and then broke Wilander in the seventh game and served out the set.

Again in the fourth game of the second set, Wilander led 15-40 as McEnroe's serve but couldn't win the game. McEnroe followed with a break of Wilander's serve to go up 4-3.

The players traded serves until the final game when McEnroe broke Wilander at love.

## Runs in the family

By JACK LEON  
RAMAT HASHARON. — New Zealand's David Lewis, 22, younger brother of 1983 Wimbledon runner-up Chris Lewis, yesterday won the doubles event at the \$25,000 ITC Frankel satellite-circuit Masters tournament here, after earlier taking third place in the singles competition. It was Lewis's best overall result in his four years on the pro tennis circuit.

Lewis gained the doubles crown in partnership with Swiss Davis Cup racketeer Dominik Hrbatý, 21, the pair defeating top British 18-and-under juniors Chris Bailey and Darren Roberts 6-4, 6-2 in the final. The boys had to qualify for the main draw in two of the four circuit tournaments and battled their way through no less than 16 matches to reach the Masters last round. Last Wednesday night's semifinal clash saw Lewis and Hrbatý upset past Israeli Amih Nuri and American Greg Bill 7-6 (8-6), 5-7, 7-6 (8-6), saving one match point in the process.

David Lewis will climb from 430 to around 300 in the ATP world singles rankings as a result of his success in the Frankel series, his highest rating yet. The quiet-spoken New Zealander's doubles triumph will give a nice boost to his current 240th place in the standings. "The circuit is tremendously tough, but my results here have given me a lot of encouragement and I am still hoping to break into the higher rankings," Lewis said.

The singles final will be played off at 2 p.m. today at Ramat Hasharon's ITC courts, with No. 6 seed Nuri facing unseeded German Nils Brunand. In the semi-finals, Brunand beat Italian Angelo Panigelli 7-6, 6-4, to register his third success against a seeded opponent in the Masters.

### EUROPEAN SOCCER

## Sweep for Cup favourites Barcelona, Inter-Milan

LONDON (Reuter). — Barcelona and Internazionale Milan, two of the traditional giants of European soccer, justified their positions among the favourites for this season's UEFA Cup by sweeping to typically pragmatic away victories in Wednesday night's action.

The Spanish league leaders, beaten on penalties in last season's European Cup final, went part of the way to ensure their places in the UEFA Cup quarter-finals next March with a 2-0 victory over Bayer Uerdingen in West Germany in their third round first leg match.

Welsh international striker Mark Hughes, who has struggled in the shadow of England's Gary Lineker since joining the club this season, proved his goal instinct remained with Barcelona's second goal in the 79th minute after midfielder Roberto Fernandez had opened the scoring only three minutes earlier.

Milan drew on all their traditional skills as masters of defensive soccer as they won 1-0 in Czechoslovakia against Dukla Prague. Italian World Cup striker Alessandro Altobelli scored the only goal with a rare flash of attacking skill after 18 minutes.

Elsewhere, Spartak Moscow, expected to maintain the dazzling path cut through the champions' cup by Dynamo Kiev this season, managed only a 1-0 victory in their opening round match against the Soviet Union's modest Sverdlovsk Tyrol. And Rudakov scored for Spartak after 22 minutes.

Groningen of the Netherlands repeated the 1-0 scoreline with a similarly narrow win against Vitoria Guimarães of Portugal who, unlike the Austrians, are likely to have the firepower at home to win the tie.

Scotland's duo, Glasgow Rangers and Dundee United, had mixed fortunes. Rangers, seeking their first European trophy since 1972, were held 1-1 by West Germany's Borussia Mönchengladbach while Dundee maintained their hopes of a place in the last eight with a 2-0 win over Hajduk Split of Yugoslavia.

Ian Durrant gave Rangers a 14th minute lead, but gifted young midfielder Uwe Rahn leveled the scores a minute before the interval to leave manager Graeme Souness facing a difficult second leg in two weeks' time.

Dundee United had less trouble overcoming the Yugoslav defence with Alan McNally scoring in a first half and John Clark in the second.

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Coverly pulled a goal back on the hour when Dave Bennett hammered the ball home from the edge of the area. But Moeby's third penalty came in the 71st minute after Sedgley again fouled Rush.

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### GOLF

By FAITH SPECTOR  
The great success of the seniors PGA tour, which enables older golfers like Billy Casper, Arnold Palmer and Gary Player, to play competitive golf, despite the passage of years, has now hit the Caesarea Golf Club.

A seniors' section has been created and competitions will be played at Caesarea on the first Monday of every month. To qualify, the specifications are, for men, to be 55 and over, and for women, to be at least 50.

The guiding spirit behind this new

### Seniors arrive

programme at the club is Dennis Melzer, a new immigrant from Australia. When he arrived with his wife eight months ago, he felt that there was a need for seniors' section and, at his suggestion, a special committee was formed to promote it.

Melzer is very suitable to organising this aspect of the club, as he was a member of the Veterans' Association in Australia and was a founding member of the Jewish golf club in Melbourne, 33 years ago. Golf has always been a very important part of

his life: he was the manager of the Australian golf team for the last Maccabi Games. In Israel, he continues to work for the Maccabi organisation by serving on the sub-committee for aliya and absorption of the Maccabi World Congress, the aim of which is to give help and support to any past Maccabean making aliya.

He says, "Anyone who qualifies for the senior section and resides in Israel is invited to join and will be very welcome to play in the competitions." Prizes will be given for

achievements on the golf course — for example, for a ball hit closest to the pin on the short holes, or for the longest drive.

There will be two divisions, the A for those players with handicaps of 0 - 18, and the B for those with handicaps of 19 - 36.

Melzer emphasises that the organising committee, as an important offshoot of this newly established seniors' section in the club, the possibility of international seniors' championship tournaments being played in Israel in the future.

Another important development from this new section will be increased social activities in the club. Melzer says, "We hope to enlarge the social involvement of the golfers, to enhance the spirit of camaraderie that already prevails."

The next seniors' tournament will be on Monday, December 1, with tee-off starting from 10 a.m.

## Don't listen to Graham; Arsenal have a chance

By DAVID HOROVITZ  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
LONDON. — Consistency and commitment were the key qualities of the Arsenal side that won the League and FA Cup double in 1971.

They weren't a great team — Charlie George was their only remarkable player — but they had guts, the tremendous pairing of Kennedy and Radford up front, and a defence that conceded only six goals in 21 home league fixtures.

Perhaps the tidest player in that team was George Graham, the number eight you hardly noticed, but without whom that Arsenal side could not have functioned effectively.

Fifteen years later, Graham is back at Highbury, this time as manager, and it's no coincidence that Arsenal are back on top of the First Division.

They're unbeaten now in their last 11 games — having won nine of them — but Graham still refuses to acknowledge that they have a realistic chance of winning the championship. In interviews after what is becoming the regular weekend victory, Graham continues to claim that his team is too inexperienced to beat out the likes of Liverpool.

Centre-back David O'Leary, at 28 the longest-serving member of the side, agrees with his boss: "The last

third of the season is when experience counts," says O'Leary. "That's why Liverpool are so good. Our young lads haven't been through that barrier yet."

O'Leary believes that Arsenal will do well to finish in the top five, but both his and Graham's comments are a little disingenuous.

Admittedly, the Gunners' forward line is rather on the young side — Quinn and Hayes are only 20, and Rocastle is 19 — but that's only because the more experienced players are being kept out of the first team.

Charlie Nicholas, the man Liverpool were once chasing as a replacement for the departing Ian Rush, is fit again after injury, and taring to go. Trouble is, he can't get into the side.

Quinn has scored in Arsenal's last three games, and Graham is hardly about to drop him. Two other Arsenal stalwarts, midfielders Graham Rix and Stewart Robson, are shaking off injuries, but they too could have trouble re-establishing themselves.

This strength in depth, up front and in midfield, is also reflected in Arsenal's defence, where Tommy Caton, once an England prospect, has no hope at all of breaking into the first team.

Viv Anderson, Kenny Sansom, O'Leary and Tony Adams make up what is indisputably the finest back

four in the country. Were O'Leary English, he would have been Bobby Robson's first choice number five for years. Adams, another 20-year-old, can't be far off an England cap, especially given the appalling paucity of quality centre backs. And Sansom and Anderson are already the country's acknowledged premier full backs.

Graham, no doubt, will continue to play down his team's championship chances, having taken note of Manchester United escapades last season. Ron Atkinson's Red Devils thought they had the championship sewn up by Christmas, but their over-confidence brought them down, Liverpool pounced, and today Atkinson is looking for a job.

But for all the caution, Arsenal do look set for a long stay at the top. Five of their next seven league games are against teams in the lower half of the first division — the likes of Aston Villa, QPR and Wimbledon.

And even when they do come up against the Liverpools and the Nottingham Forests, their speed on the ball and power in the air should stand them in good stead.

Add to that the pressure that stems from the knowledge that Nicholas, Rix and Robson are waiting in the wings, and you have a side that is not likely to accept defeat easily — whatever the manager might have you believe.



FLYING SCOTSMAN. — Charlie Nicholas of Arsenal.

### 2-2 1/2 ROOMS

Derech Tzur, 2 rooms, 54sq.m., 4th floor, \$19,000. Egan Realty, 711888.

### Upper Hador, 2 1/2, well arranged, balcony, roof. 04-64874, afternoon.

### 2 Bar Cities, balconies, furniture, view, 4th floor, 04-733328.

### Ruzit, 2 1/2, 4th floor, capboards, solar boiler, \$20,000. Tel. 04-210491.

### Hadar centre, 2 1/2, renovated, 3 capboards, charming view. 04-674117, afternoon and evening, not Shabbat.

### Kiryat Morzin, Sderot Weinbaum, 2 1/2, closed balconies, capboards, solar boiler. 02-639546, evenings.

### Acre, 21/18 Hachal, 2 rooms, 1st floor. 02-871566, afternoon.

### Bar Galim, 2, discrete, fixed capboards, solar boiler, Tel. 04-531859, afternoon.

### 3-3 1/2 ROOMS

Burgin, Sirkia, 100sq.m., 2nd floor, available immediately. 04-24694.

Kiryat Haim, 71 Sderot Degania, 3, 1st floor, 27,000. 03-925458.

Ramot, 3, discrete, solar boiler, 70sq.m. 04-227406, evening.

1/2, 3rd floor, Carmel, \$29,000. 03-238116, 04-989646, 04-987698.

Ma'alot, 3 rooms, \$20,000. 04-975692.

Tiberias, 3, renovated + discrete, kitchen capboards. 067-90077.

Burgin, Kiryat Yarm Gimmel, 3 rooms, phone. 1st floor. 04-212827.

Sale, 3 room flat, well arranged, solar heater, phone. 04-761522.

Mainman, 3 1/2, 4th floor, well arranged. 04-224532, 04-231746, not Shabbat.

### 4 ROOMS & MORE

Alzaza, 4, central, discrete, view, parking, storeroom. 04-256176.

Sderot Hachal, 4, well arranged, capboards. 04-330556, not Shabbat.

Carmel, 5, renovated, beautiful, 2nd floor, view, Sigion Sazoni. 04-335243-45.

Kiryat Hayita, 105sq.m., well arranged, on pillars, flexible company. 727501.

Lutraton, 180sq.m., upper Hador, view to sea, balcony, storeroom, improvements. 04-22542.

Neve Shalom, centre of Hapoli, 3rd floor, 4, (110), discrete, walk-in closet, parking, storeroom, improvements. 04-22542.

### Flats for Rent

5, 130sq.m., separate floor, exclusive location, Hador Hachal, 04-705029, Sunday, Monday, Thursday, Friday, 02-88225.

Shimshon, 4, discrete, partially furnished, phone, heating, 1st floor. 04-247449.

4 room flat, 61 Eir Cohen, Kiryat Yarm. 04-254220.

### Keymoney

3 rooms, capboards, solar boiler, well arranged, garden soon. 04-512554.

### Purchase Sale

Flat centre, excellent condition. 04-238206, 04-254579.

Azure 11 refrigerator, GE washing machine, new Caloric oven. 04-250111.

### Furniture

Antique, wooden hand-carved bed, 1st floor, 2nd and bedroom sets. 04-42655, 04-231732, evenings.

### Musical Instruments

New set of drums + cove. 04-622717, work. 04-910005.

Burgin sale, German piano. 04-25238.

### Personnel

Situations Vacant

Full-time care for handicapped person requires dedicated counselor, afternoons. 04-942525.

Experienced furniture carpenter, immediate work, Hador and Netanya areas, good conditions, long term. Tel. 04-670382.

Foreigner required, background in manufacturing parts production + work with dies, long term, good conditions. Tel. 04-670382.

### Business

Sale, Sabina centre, spacious shop, conveniences, phone. 04-935119.

### Offices

Realt. in city, 8 rooms + gallery. 04-25480, not Shabbat.

### Plots

Tivon, half plot for building, 600sq.m., view. 04-23893.

French, working building plot, old house possible. 04-45313.

Darya Bet, two-family, no agents fees. 04-338044, 04-257901.

Ramat Eshkol, suitable plot for one family house. 04-246363, evenings.

### Shops

Burgin! Shop in Hador, any purpose, bargain price. 04-66907.

Monthly rent, central shop + gallery + phone, Kiryat Aza. 04-441877.

### Warehouses

For rent, units of storerooms (about 1,500sq.m.), central, Hador, including heating area (very convenient). 04-664055, Emanuel.

### Negev

Housekeeper required for elderly couple, living, help available daily. 057-5397.

### 4 ROOMS & MORE

Beersheba, Schumai Aleph, 2nd floor, private garden, roof, 120sq.m., 4 1/2 rooms, many improvements, vacancy 8 months. 057-33288.

Due to departure, bargain, 100sq.m., improvements, \$23,000. 057-41126.

### Flats for Rent

Villa, 3 bedrooms, luxury, double conveniences. 057-950435.

### Netanya

Factory in Hador area requires complete keyboard operator with bookkeeping knowledge (grade 11), previous experience. 057-6917-8.

### 2-2 1/2 ROOMS

Netanya, centre, 2 1/2, 4th floor, well arranged, \$31,000. 057-33623.

### 3-3 1/2 ROOMS

Beit Shalom, 3 1/2, 4th floor, phone. 4th floor, \$30,000. 057-46385.

### 4 ROOMS & MORE

Sale, 4 rooms, phone. 053-98520, 053-98381.

4 large, 5 possible, well arranged, flexible vacancy. 053-41995.



# An economic blunder about to be committed

Avi Temkin

FOR MONTHS, the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Israel have been talking about an impending capital market reform that, together with an overhaul of the tax system, would trigger economic growth, and take the country out of the doldrums. Unfortunately for the economy, both Finance Minister Moshe Nissim and Governor of the Bank of Israel Michael Bruno have got cold feet.

The blunder to be committed by the central bank and the Treasury will not be noticed immediately by the general public. Both Nissim and Bruno will benefit from the fact that the issues involved are of an apparent "technical" nature, and that there is a lack of awareness among the public on what is at stake. The mass media, as usual in Israel, are also contributing to the confusion by emphasizing issues of marginal importance, like the recent boom in the sale of consumer durables.

But hidden among the "technicalities" is an ongoing and bitter argument among policy makers about the proposed reform. The debate con-

cerns the interpretation of the concept "capital market reform." Facing Bruno and Nissim, who together with the Treasury's Director-General Emmanuel Sharon, favour as narrow an interpretation as possible, is a group of Bank of Israel officials and members of the country's banking community, who say the proposed reform must be sweeping, altering the structure and institutions of the money market.

BRUNO, Nissim and Sharon insist that the proposed reform will be based on money slashed from the state budget. This would be made available to the business sector through bonds issued with government approval. This is the kind of caricature which the central bank and Treasury heads want to see implemented.

The problem with such proposals is not only that they are unlikely to restart the growth engine, but also that they evade the main issues. Those planning the proposed reform should ask whether Israel's business

sector will be provided with enough resources to finance investment in new sectors.

According to those economists favouring bolder reforms in the money market, the present situation offers Israel a unique opportunity to embark on a path of economic growth. Their case is based on the very low interest rates—about 7 per cent—in international financial markets. Given that the average rate of inflation abroad is about 3 per cent, real interest rates are now some 4 per cent. At such levels, it is not only possible, but also desirable to borrow abroad.

In fact, anyone trying to delude himself and others that it is possible to keep interest rates in Israel at their present astronomical levels, between 25 and 30 per cent, in real annual terms, will soon find out that reality is stronger than bureaucratic designs. Both the international banking community and the country's largest firms are already aware of the possibilities opened up to them.

On the one hand, foreign banks know Israeli firms are willing to borrow at higher interest rates than generally paid by similar companies

abroad. On the other, local firms know foreign banks can offer them more and cheaper credit than they can get at home. The best example is Israel Chemicals, which not long ago got an \$18 million loan from a conglomerate of European banks. There are rumours that Bezek has followed suit and has completed a deal with foreign banks involving millions of dollars.

ONE must conclude that Bruno and the director of the Bank of Israel Monetary Department, Victor Medina, will not be able to stop the flood of loans from abroad. What they will achieve, however, will be to reduce the domestic banking system to the role of a government clearing house. With the business sector looking elsewhere for financing, all that will remain for the banks to do will be to collect money from the public and make it available to the government.

Under existing bank reserves' regulations, a large part of the funds raised by the commercial banks in saving accounts and deposits is deposited with the Treasury. This limits the banks' capacity to lend and to diversify their assets. Banking li-

quidity is controlled through loans granted to the banks by the Bank of Israel. Such a structure has not only enabled the Bank of Israel to impose an intolerable interest rate on the economy, but has also encouraged it to increase as much as possible the difference between interest paid to savers and interest charged to borrowers.

It is this structure, which has put the economy in a straitjacket, that the Bank of Israel wants to protect so much.

A RATIONAL government would have decided many months ago that it was in the economy's best interests to increase borrowing abroad. This could have been done by the government itself, since it can get cheaper credit abroad and at better conditions than can the private sector. Such loans would then finance part of the government deficit, replacing funds raised in the domestic capital market. Thus, foreign debt would be substituted for domestic government debt, but the overall level of government liabilities would be the same.

The advantages of such moves are obvious. First the interest rates in Israel would be driven down to nor-

mal levels, and the domestic business sector would be supplied with funds and financing from a banking system finally freed from anachronistic regulations creating unneeded high minimal reserves. Second, the government would be able to replace internal debts on which it pays a very high interest rate with relatively cheap loans from abroad. Since debt repayment, principal and interest, represents close to 40 per cent of the state budget, such a reduction in the interest burden would contribute to fiscal stability more than any of those frequent and illusory efforts to cut spending on social services.

Perhaps what frightens Medina and Sharon and all other bureaucrats so much is that this move would curb their ability to exert absolute control over the money market—to implement a so-called "monetary policy"—based on attempts to determine the volume of borrowing and at the same time to determine who would get such credits and at what price. Moreover, reforming the money market would imply a reduction in interest rates, and this in turn would encourage spending by the public, thus increasing domestic demand.

IF the money market is reformed,

the Bank of Israel will have to get used to a new world. No more direct allocation of credits by the central bank and the Treasury to a starved business sector, no more loans to commercial banks, no more bureaucratic power to set suffocating interest rates. Instead the central bank will have to learn to live with commercial banks holding active and changing portfolios.

This reform has nothing to do with the mooted budget cuts. There are good reasons why the budget should be slashed, especially the Defence Ministry budget, but the reform of the money market is not one of them. To implement the reform proposed here implies an increase in the government's outstanding debts. It also implies that it can be implemented at the present level of government deficit.

One suspects that by linking the reform to slashing the budget, and by saying that the reform will be financed from those budget cuts, the Treasury and the Bank of Israel are trying to delay the decision. Procrastination has always been preferable to decision in the eyes of Treasury and Bank of Israel officials. It will be the economy's misfortune if they succeed.

## Four weeks to go and help is needed

Beverlee Black

HANUKKA is just about four weeks away, which doesn't give us much time for receiving the amount of money the Toy Fund needs to ensure that all the 15,000 children living in government institutions and foster homes receive a gift for Hanukkah or Christmas. The Toy Fund total still falls far short of meeting even our minimal needs.

Sometimes, in the next ten days, our committee will be sitting to discuss allocations for the various institutions. Without a sufficient amount of money to work with, we won't even be able to meet last year's achievements.

We would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Kaplan of Bayit Vegan for the kerosene heater they donated to the Forsake Me Not Fund. The Kaplan's will be happy to know that the heater was given to a needy person the very next day.

Heating, however, is only one of the many services that have to be expanded. We need more money for dental care, home help, hot meals, security and transportation to clinics

for medical care.

The Forsake Me Not Fund is doing its best to help them through your contributions. Please send your cheques today to help bring a little comfort and joy to the lives of the old and young to *The Jerusalem Post*, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.



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NIS 100 Hershel Orbach, Haifa. In memory of Ona Tila and Ona Sam - Pasha and Lorie K. Haifa. In loving memory of my father and grandparents - B.D.K. In loving memory of my aunt Lily and Betty - E.B., Beersheba. For Shai and Yoeli - great-aunt Hava. In memory of my dear husband, Arje Efroni - Betty Efroni, Kiryat Haim.  
NIS 65 Anonymous, Jerusalem.  
NIS 54 Lior, Eyal Vago, Calgary, Canada.  
NIS 50 In memory of our granddaughters, Tirtza Waile, who died before the light of us were born - Wahles in Kibutz Yotvava and three Shaves in Kibutz Erez.  
NIS 45 In loving memory of my sister, Margot Wohlman - H.H., Kiryat Bialik.  
NIS 40 Anonymous, Petah Tikva.

NIS 36 In memory of Tali Schwartz - Carol Schwartz, Englewood, New Jersey.  
NIS 35 Daniel A. Ornstein, Jerusalem.  
NIS 30 Children of Parkway Center, Pittsburgh, Pa.

NIS 25 N.N. In loving memory of our dear friend Ann Rosen - Edna and Leslie Davies, Ra'anana, Eva Wilenz, Netanya.  
NIS 18 In honour of my granddaughter, Maya Abadi - Ruth Apitz Shierow, Jerusalem. Happy birthday to Ronit and Liora Marcano, and in honour of the birth of Timna, Marcia Gamliel, Haifa.  
NIS 15 In honour of birth of Adina - Elana, Yaela and Talia Golumbic, N.N., Mount Carmel, Aharon, Yael, Alon, Sara, Leora and David Kaufman, Anonymous, Jerusalem.  
NIS 10 Frank Forchheimer, Columbus, OH.  
NIS 75 Rosalie and Norman Rottenbach, Woodmere, NY.

NIS 50 In honour of our grandchildren, Sara, Tamara and Ariella, Teaneck, NJ, and Adam, Samuel and Lewis, So. Laguna, CA - Esther and Samuel Duker, Jerusalem. In memory of my dear ones killed by the Nazis - Lottie and Bert Goldenberg, Holon. Eleanor and Mildred Shulman, New City, NY. To the children of Israel - Michael, Elana, Rachel and Lisa Epstein, Stony Brook, NY.  
NIS 35 Harry and Clara Basan, Birmingham, AL.  
NIS 25 Morris M. Fairstein, Niceville, FL. Anonymous, Jerusalem. In honour of my Grandsons, Ariel Levontin - Florence Levontin, Merrick, NY. In honour of the recovery of John Oettinger - Larry J. Oettinger, Sherman Oaks, CA.

NIS 20 In honour of the Abraham Keweller family, Petah Tikva, the Keweller and Goldin families in the U.S. and the Lipkin and Rivkin families in the U.S. - Abraham and Irene Goldin, Carlsbad, NM. Anonymous, Lower Merion, PA.  
NIS 18 In honour of my parents - Chana and Wilfred Stein, Jerusalem.  
NIS 30 D.W., Tel Aviv.  
NIS 20 In memory of my husband Leo Davidow - Charlotte Davidow, Kiryat Yedidia.  
NIS 15 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

NIS 120 By the students of the England-Israel High School and the Project Costa Rica, Kiryat Haim, Kiryat Haim.  
NIS 100 In loving memory of my father and grandparents - E.D.K. In honour of Elana, Yaela, Talia and Adina - Lynn and Martin Golumbic, Haifa. In loving memory of my parents - E.B., Beersheba. Ann Adler, Haifa. In memory of my parents - Elana, Anonymous, Tel Aviv. In memory of my dear husband Arje Efroni - Betty Efroni, Kiryat Haim. In memory of Dina and Nechemia Weinberger - L.V., Haifa, Grand Beach Synagogue, Anonymous, Jerusalem.  
NIS 80 In memory of Fruma and Landler - Charlotte and Dr. Arish Kunitzky, Ra'anana.  
NIS 72 To rejoice in 36 happy years together - Gali and Ernst Fischer, Rehovot.  
NIS 55 In loving memory of my grandparents, Lousied and Shamma (Emma) Schick nee Reizenbaum of Trautman - H.H., Kiryat Bialik.  
NIS 50 Anonymous, Ramat Gan, Anonymous, Ramat Gan, Anonymous, in memory of our dear Tirtza Waile and in honour of our 94-year-old aunt Grete Wolfel of Haifa - Felix and Dani Waile and from Ruth Shaves, Andreas Langer, Kiryat Haim.  
NIS 40 Anonymous, Petah Tikva.  
NIS 36 Papi Weiss, Tel Aviv. In appreciation of the good report from the doctor - Anonymous, Kiryat Haim. In honour of Ruth Frier's birthday.  
NIS 27 In memory of my son - N.N.  
NIS 25 N.N. In loving memory of my dear friend Ann Rosen - Edna and Leslie Davies, Ra'anana, Eva Wilenz, Netanya, Robert Harris, Ruth Stern, Ra'anana.  
NIS 15 In memory of my grandparents, Joseph and Chana Luzzatto and Yisroel Moshe and Regina Markovitz - Yehuda Markovitz, Safed.  
NIS 22.50 Frank and Charlotte Sadosky, Pittsburgh, PA.  
NIS 15 In memory of my friends, Kary, Dora and Chan - Natscha Raphael, Tel Aviv. In honour of 40th wedding anniversary of Cyril and Rita Morris - Max and Ruth Gelfand and family. Small bridge group in Sayron. In memory of my mother - Yehudi Kadosh, Jerusalem. A.G., Haifa, Anonymous, Jerusalem.  
NIS 18 Marcia Gamliel, Haifa. In memory of parents, Herman and Henrietta Braverman and Shalom Lapidus - Maurice and Miriam Braverman, Yerusha.  
NIS 15 Morris and Sylvia Kaufman, Netanya. Happy birthday to Fritz Wiener, Hannover-Isenhausen - Margot and Heinz Simon, Kiryat Haim. In memory of a very dear friend of the family, Rivka ben David, Givatshimon, Jerusalem, first yahrzeit, 26th of Cheshvan - R.P.  
NIS 10 For the 25th year running and happy to do it - R.I.O., No. Hollywood, CA.  
NIS 100 Janet H. Gordon, Stamford, NY. In memory of our parents, Bessie and Samuel Stern and Sarah and Aaron Garmez and Rose Kantor - Judy and Michael Tammaroff, New York, NY.  
NIS 50 Esther Marcus, San Francisco, CA. Mr. and Mrs. George Frenkel, Chicago, IL. Robert D. Stern, New York. Vivian and Bayer Silver, Springfield, MA. In loving memory of our dear son, Ben-Zion - Esther and Samuel Duker, Jerusalem. Anonymous, Jerusalem. In memory of my dear ones killed by the Nazis - Lottie and Bert Goldenberg, Holon. Mildred and Eleanor Shulman, New City, NY.  
NIS 32.50 Harry and Clara Basan, Birmingham, AL.  
NIS 30 For the 25th year running and happy to do it - R.I.O., No. Hollywood, CA.  
NIS 25 Bruce and Kaylee Frager, Dallas, TX. E.W. and Helen Woodham, Newport, AR.  
NIS 15 Morris M. Fairstein, Niceville, FL.  
NIS 10 In honour of the Abraham Keweller family, Petah Tikva, the Keweller and Goldin families in the U.S. and the Lipkin and Rivkin families in the U.S. - Abraham and Irene Goldin, Carlsbad, NM. Anonymous, Lower Merion, PA.  
NIS 18 In honour of Carol B. Shore's birthday - Charles and Esther Swartz, East Providence, RI. David and Betty Strassfeld, Memphis, TN. Carol Metzger Aden, Philadelphia, PA.  
NIS 10 Lewis Hilton, Ossining, NY. In memory of my parents - Rose Frucht, Coran, NY.  
NIS 750 A. Katzman and others - Crown Wells Starred Antiquarians - London, England, DM100 Gumbel, R. and C. Midian Feix, Grazing, W. Germany.

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NIS 30 D.W., Tel Aviv.  
NIS 20 In memory of my husband Leo Davidow - Charlotte Davidow, Kiryat Yedidia.  
NIS 15 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

## Labour in India - child, weaver, slave

Dilip Ganguly / New Delhi

CHILDREN with small, nimble fingers tie the fine knots that give Indian carpets their value, but the child weavers' hands are their worst enemies.

An investigative commission appointed by the supreme court here reported recently that child-labourers as young as six are being beaten, branded, herded like cattle, fed inedible food or allowed to go hungry.

Welfare and civil rights groups say the child weavers are among an estimated five million bonded labourers in India. Child labour is banned only in certain hazardous jobs.

"They are non-beings, exiles of civilization, living a life worse than that of animals," Chief Justice P. N. Bhagwati said of India's bonded workers.

On November 10 the supreme court ordered the release of 319 children identified as bonded workers in the carpet factories of Mirzapur, in northern India's Uttar Pradesh state.

Bonded labourers are like indentured servants who work to pay off debts. India outlawed the practice in 1976 and cancelled all debts; but it still flourishes in poor, rural areas and the violators are seldom punished.

Indian press reports indicate there are 120,000 children among the 600,000 weavers in factories in Mirzapur. Many of the children are bonded but the exact number is not known.

The All-India Carpet Manufacturers' Association denies that any children are abused, but the investigative commission's report cited numerous examples.

"The children emphatically stated they were confined and not allowed to move freely; they were forced to work 12 to 16 hours per day and often beaten and tortured. Their food was unwholesome and insufficient to fill their bellies," the commission report said.

The commission said in one case, 32 child labourers were housed in one small room. In another, children were tied and hung on a tree and then dropped repeatedly to the ground because they asked for toilets.

Twelve-year-old Bhola Bhuiya showed court investigators welts in his armpits and bruises over his body. He said he was beaten with a baton over his right eye for relieving himself without permission.

"It is true we need nimble fingers for fine weaving," All-India Carpet Association President Ashfaq Waziri told the Associated Press. "But the children are not slaves, they are employees of loom owners."

He said the children are paid according to the amount of weaving they do, the average being 12 rupees (92 U.S. cents) a day.

MIRZAPUR'S CARPET-children are among a vast child labour force in India. The government says there are 17.5 million child labourers. But human rights groups contend the figure is as high as 100 million of India's 300 million children.

Swami Agnivesh, a former professor turned Hindu monk, who has led a crusade against bonded labour, estimates there are 1 million bonded

children. Agnivesh, 47, has spent three of the past 13 years in jail. He has been charged with breach of the peace for leading protests and has been arrested under preventive detention laws. His passport was seized after he testified in Switzerland on bonded labour before a human rights group.

Parliament recently passed a controversial bill regulating child labour, which even Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi says cannot be abolished overnight. The new law bans children under 14 from the most difficult and dangerous jobs and specifies rest hours and working conditions.

Most people doubt that the new law, and the 11 others dealing with bonded and child labour, will help. The poverty of the country and the potential number of cases make enforcement impossible.

Waziri of the carpet association defended the use of child labour, saying only tiny fingers can tie the 400 knots per square inch (6.3 square centimetres) found in the finest quality Mirzapur carpets. He also claimed the art of weaving can only "be learned when you are around 10."

The Mirzapur carpet industry, one of India's biggest, earns U.S. \$114 million a year in foreign exchange.

AGNIVESH AND others working to abolish bonded labour equate the practice with slavery.

"No words can describe the horror and torture of the slaves," Agnivesh told the Associated Press in an interview.

"It is a terrible situation. We talk of democracy and taking India into the 21st century, but see what we have - slaves, destitutes and orphans," said Govinda Mukhoty, a London-educated lawyer and president of the People's Union for Democratic Rights.

The tragedy is that despite the proven existence of slaves, not a single slave has been punished with imprisonment," said human rights lawyer Jose Vergheze, who stated the carpet children's case before the supreme court.

He said that in the past five years, 7,000 cases of bonded labour were registered but only 117 people were convicted. None went to jail and everyone got off with fines as low as between \$6 and \$40, said Vergheze, who is pushing for stiffer penalties.

Indian law provides a maximum three years' imprisonment for keeping bonded labour.

Because of the difficulty of prosecuting individuals, Vergheze brought his suit against the government for failing to carry out its own laws.

The court-appointed commission could identify only 637 children by name and only 319 of those could be located and freed. Vergheze said the other 318 were hidden by village loom owners and their whereabouts are not known.

The court ordered the released children be sent back to their villages, enrolled in school and helped to lead normal lives. But their prospects in the poverty-stricken hamlets from which they come, are grim.

(Associated Press)

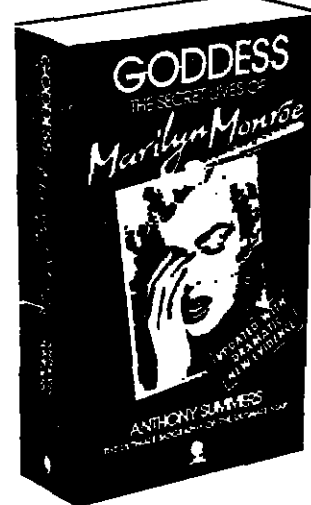
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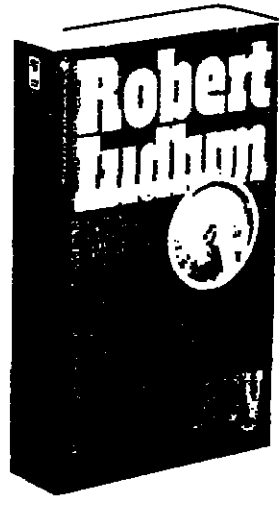
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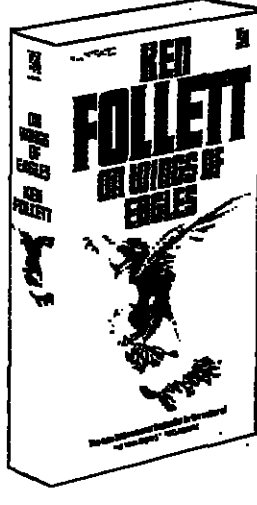
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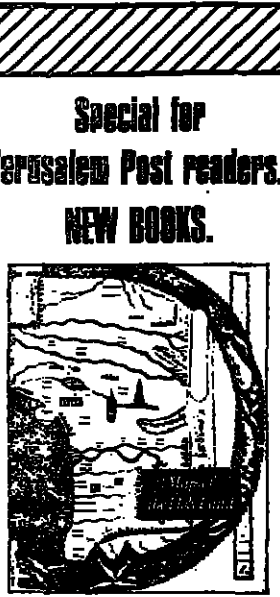
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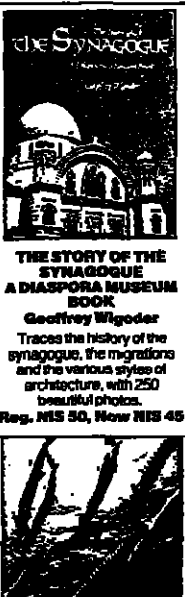
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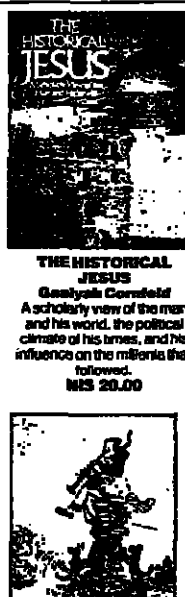
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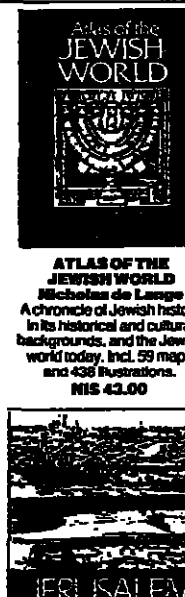
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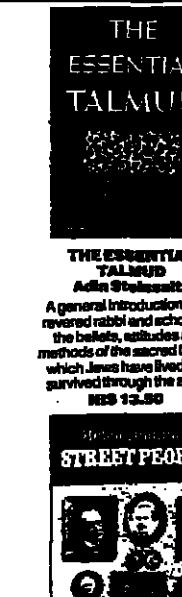
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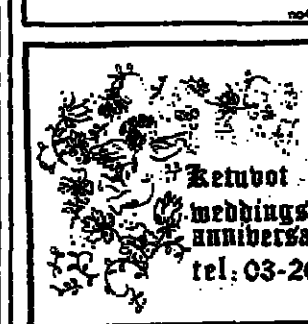
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## MARKET PLACE

ALAN ELSNER

## 'Big bang' makes good

Despite an embarrassing string of computer breakdowns, dealers in the London Stock Exchange say they have experienced a major upsurge in business in the first month since "big bang" when market deregulation took effect.

"Our daily turnover in equities trading has increased by 90 per cent, and that's probably in keeping with the rest of the market," says Philip Moss of Barclays de Zoete Wedd (BZW), a major British financial group.

Trading volumes have gone up very substantially. The new computerized system is obviously a quantum leap forward," says John Green, head of equities at stockbrokers James Capel.

Green attributes much of the increase in volume reported by market makers to their trading the same blocks of shares several times between themselves. But there has also been a substantial increase in the net total of deals, spurred by the advent of free competition in brokers' commissions.

Official stock exchange figures issued yesterday showed trading volume in the last week before deregulation took effect at the equivalent of \$4.5 billion. Last week, it was equivalent to \$7.4b. and the level of the three previous weeks was even higher.

Big bang day itself, on October 27, was tarnished by the breakdown of the stock exchange's computerized dealing system, known as Seag, half an hour before trading was due to begin when it became overloaded by users.

To the embarrassment of exchange officials, the system malfunctioned several times more in subsequent days and is still plagued by occasional lapses. Both yesterday and Wednesday, dealers accidentally fed in some inaccurate prices, causing problems for several hours.

But an informal survey of traders showed they dismissed the faults as teething problems and spoke enthusiastically of the benefits that the new system has brought.

"The system has proved itself," says Tony Lewis, chairman of Smith New Court, which this week announced plans to move almost all its traders off the stock exchange floor and into its electronic dealing room early next year.

Smith was the only primary trading firm to retain a full-scale operation on the market floor, and its decision is being seen as the death blow to old-style face-to-face dealing.

Moss says BZW, which used to have up to 140 traders on the exchange floor before deregulation, has withdrawn all but 30, who remained to trade in less important stocks not quoted on Seag.

He says fears that deregulation might prompt clients to use brokers only to conclude deals while neglecting their research and advice functions had not been fulfilled.

"Stock exchange spokeswoman Gill Acres says the trading floor, only recently re-equipped and updated at a cost of \$4.2 million, was now almost deserted.

"In the past month, the market has also approved a crucial merger with major foreign bond dealers grouped in the International Securities Regulatory Organization (Isro), which should boost London's bid to become the third major world financial centre alongside New York and Tokyo.

On the reverse side of the coin, the exchange received a jolt with the disclosure that a top official with Morgan Grenfell merchant bank had resigned for trading on the basis of privileged information and from the reverberations of the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal on Wall Street.

Acres said these events had nothing to do with deregulation. In fact, computerization had made it easier for officials to spot suspicious deals.

"We have a complete data base of every transaction so inquiries can be completed in days rather than weeks," (Reuters)

**Hypercol offering better credit terms**

TEL AVIV. — Hypercol has fired another round in the supermarket credit war by allowing customers to benefit from extended credit facilities.

The company announced yesterday that customers purchasing over NIS 100 worth of goods would be given until February 2 to pay.

## Ministerial panel has 3 candidates

## New bid to find Beit Shemesh buyer

## Two weeks allotted to find new owner

By AVI TEMKIN and MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The ministerial team charged with devising a solution to debt-ridden Beit Shemesh Engines yesterday agreed to renew efforts to sell the state-owned enterprise. But the proceedings were clouded by Finance Minister Moshe Nissim's sharp criticism of Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin's exclusion from the panel.

Nissim's comments were taken as an indirect criticism of Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who decided against putting Rabin on the committee at last Sunday's cabinet meeting. Rabin is among the few ministers who support Nissim's position that the government should not rule out appointing a receiver for Beit Shemesh Engines.

The dispute was widely seen by observers as part of a larger disagreement between Nissim and Shamir (see analysis on page 1).

The four-man ministerial team, which includes Nissim, Vice Premier Shimon Peres, Economics Minister Gad Ya'acobi and Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens — agreed to continue the government's effort to sell off Beit Shemesh Engines either to Hissadur-owned Koor Ltd. or industrialist Stef Wertheimer.

In addition, the panel discussed Peres's proposal that Beit Shemesh

Engines become a unit of state-owned Israel Aircraft Industries Ltd. Nissim said he supported Peres's proposal but expressed doubts whether IAI would be interested in assuming control of the troubled concern.

The committee empowered Ya'acobi and Arens to approach the three candidates and come back with an acceptable arrangement with any one within two weeks.

Of the three candidates, only Wertheimer has expressed an interest in acquiring Beit Shemesh Engines — and only on condition that the government assume its estimated \$60 million in debts (see accompanying story).

Both IAI and Koor have already said they have no interest in Beit Shemesh Engines.

Meanwhile at a meeting of the Life Insurance Companies Association in Tel Aviv, Nissim stressed that a Beit Shemesh Engines non-government body must take over the troubled enterprise so that it ceases to be a burden on the state budget.

Nissim said the government would reject more demands on its budget.

"We tried to sell the plant to non-government hands and failed. We're still trying," Nissim said. "If we don't succeed, it must be known that the state budget is not a bottomless hole. With the money needed to save Beit Shemesh other plants can be built, workers taken care of and we can still have change left over."

Of the four, only Nissim has supported the idea of appointing a receiver, which he said would help clarify the company's situation and hence be in the workers' best interests.

## Industrialist offers to put plant on its feet

By YA'AKOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Industrialist Stef Wertheimer will discuss with the competent ministers next week a detailed plan he has drawn up for the recovery of ailing Beit Shemesh Engines.

The Jerusalem Post learned that Wertheimer wants the factory handed over by the government free of its debts but would undertake to invest whatever funds are needed to revive it.

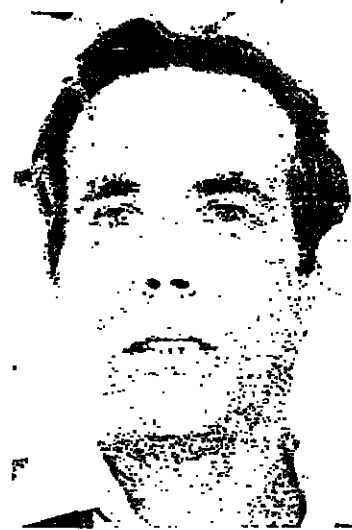
While he will stress its export potential, Wertheimer wants a government pledge to make it the primary supplier of aircraft engines for Israel's own needs.

He told The Post that if given the government's consent to the deal, he would spend most of his time in Beit Shemesh to see the factory back onto its feet.

Once the plant was working properly and viable again, there would be time to consider its future ownership.

Wertheimer vowed to keep 450 of the current work-force and would agree to retrain the remaining 200 for employment elsewhere. As the company's fortunes improved, they would be given the choice of returning as the need for more staff grew.

Wertheimer said he would consider putting in an offer for the plant, once it was viable again, or agree to



Stef Wertheimer (I.P.P.A.)

hand over to other buyers. "Only condition is that it not be returned to the government," which got it into its present plight in the first place, he stressed.

"I don't think the money is the most important factor, but the self-respect of the workers. I intend to keep them busy working for export and make them proud of their work so that the whole township will be proud again too."

"I have faith in the workers and in their product and I therefore believe it can be done," said Wertheimer, who is chairman of Iscar, a group of five successful metal factories.

Asked what he was risking in the deal he proposed, Wertheimer responded: "I'm putting on the line my money, and more important my reputation. If I fail, I stand to lose both."

## Auto prices due to be cut up to 10%

By JONATHAN KARP  
For the Jerusalem Post

European and American cars with 1600 cc engines will be 10 per cent to 11 per cent cheaper, starting January 1, as a result of lower customs and a revised scale for the purchase tax, a Finance Ministry official said yesterday.

The official said there would be smaller reductions of between 2 per cent to 3 per cent for cars with engines up to 1300 cc.

"We are 95 per cent finished," he said, referring to the inter-ministerial negotiations aimed at devising a policy for car prices after reduced customs levies go into effect in 1987. The recommendations have been made, but Finance Minister Moshe Nissim must still put his signature on the plan.

The Treasury official confirmed that there would be only one purchase tax rate for cars with engines up to 1600cc and that although the purchase tax would be raised, it would not be enough to erase the customs reductions.

Currently, the lowest purchase tax rate is 80 per cent of the car's price for cars with engines up to 1300cc. This tax increases to 115 per cent for cars in the 1300cc and 1600cc category, and rises progressively for larger engines.

Under separate agreements with the European Community and the U.S., Israel must lower its import duties by 60 per cent in January. Israel had no such obligation with Japan or Sweden, and the Treasury official said that "for the time being" no action is expected to be taken on lowering customs for their imports.

MARGARET KAUFMAN  
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**NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,** pursuant to Section 27 of the Trusts Act 1925, that any persons having a claim against or an interest in the Estate of MARGARET KAUFMAN of 8 RUPPIN STREET, TEL AVIV, ISRAEL.

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46820-05-014

## Nissim: 'C-o-L allowance imperils stability'

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The cost of living allowance jeopardizes the economic stabilization programme and threatens to revive hyperinflation, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim told the Life Insurance Companies Association meeting here yesterday.

"It's time to tell the workers directly: the c-o-l allowance is not necessarily a blessing," Nissim declared. "In order to build a new economy, wages must be curbed,

otherwise all the hazards of the past, such as inflation, will return. Wages were the basis for the economic programme, but because of the c-o-l allowance, wages have increased from the levels prevailing before the economic programme," which was launched in July 1985.

Nissim said salary increases should be awarded only when accompanied by increases. When asked whether that rule should apply to Knesset members and ministers, Nissim stressed that "every element" of the economy must be included.

The finance minister said a number of basic reforms in the tax structure and capital market, all of them conditional on whether the state budget could be cut, were necessary if the economy is to grow, rather than stagnate as it has during the past 13 years.

Nissim warned that 1987 was the last year left to implement these reforms. Next year is the last for the national unity government, in which there is the consensus needed to implement such wide-ranging changes as possible.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

## STATISTICS MARKET

## Indices:

General Share Index	124.40	-0.22%
Non-Bank Index	168.14	-0.50%
Arrangement	108.05	-0.06%
Insurance	192.14	-1.32%
Commerce, Services	206.77	+0.12%
Real Estate	208.45	-0.84%
Industrials	150.52	+0.19%
Textiles	216.31	+0.20%
Metals	181.75	-1.19%
Electronics	108.20	+0.04%
Chemicals	138.03	-0.09%
Industrial Invest.	148.07	+0.38%
Investment Cos.	172.25	-1.02%
General Bond Index	114.15	-0.06%
Index-linked Bonds	116.10	+0.10%
Fully-linked	117.85	+0.08%
Partially-linked	115.19	+0.11%
Dollar-linked Bonds	92.71	-0.08%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	112.01	-0.09%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	113.38	+0.15%
Long-term 5+ yrs	107.71	+0.06%

## Turnovers:

Shares — total	NIS 11,559,000
Arrangement	NIS 1,430,500
Non-bank	NIS 10,128,500
Bonds — total	NIS 7,232,000
Index-linked	NIS 6,037,400
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,194,600
Treasury Bills	NIS 1,925,400

## Share Movements:

Advances	131	(205)
of which 5% +	16	(26)
"buyers only"	0	(0)
Declines	148	(84)
of which 5% +	28	(9)
"sellers only"	4	(1)
Unchanged	107	(94)
Trading Halt	34	(37)

## Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked:	
3% fully-linked	Mixed to 1%

4.25% fully-linked	Rises to 1% falls to 3%
80% linked	Rises to 0.5%
Double-linked	Mixed to 1%
Dollar-linked:	
Admon	Stable
Rimon	Falls to 0.5% rises to 1%
Gilboa	Falls slightly
For. Curr. denominated	Rises slightly
Treasury Bills (annual yield)	20.15%-21.65%

## Arrangement yields:

IDB ord.	16.20%
Union 0.1	16.08%
Discount A	16.14%
Mizrahi	15.94%
Gilboa Paper	16.23%
General A	16.31%
Leumi stock	16.21%
Fin. Trade 1	15.35%

## SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%
			100NIS change

## Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")			
Maritime	1200	3057	+2.7
General non-arr.	23550	47	-
First Int'l	3545	1170	-
FBI	4575	2940	+0.3

## Commercial Banks

(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	80790	323	-0.2
Union 0.1	80226	31	-0.1
Discount	103220	69	+0.1
Mizrahi	33400	67	+0.5
Hapoalim r	54870	581	-0.1
General A	140020	6.0	-
Leumi 0.1	34870	941	-0.2
Fin. Trade	46820	-	-0.1

## Mortgage Banks

Leumi Mort r	7490	273	-
Dev. Mort.	2340	569	+1.7
Mishkan r	2800	1769	+2.0
Tefahot r	17390	35	+0.1
Meirav r	6870	223	-7.1

## Financial Institutions

Agrio C.	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DO	no trading		
Clal Leasing 0.1	22150	173	-0.9

## Insurance

Ararat 0.1 r	1415	1135	-
Heesah r	340	37440	-2.9
Phoenix 0.1	740	3165	-2.5
Hamishmar	7100	33	-0.6
Menorah 1	2120	26	-3.8
Sahar 1	5578	623	-3.5
Zion Hold. 1	8800	3.0	-

## Trade &amp; Services

Meir Ezer	1300	3620	-6.5
Supersol 2	7200	1503	-
Delek r	3499	3824	-
Lightage	14200	2	-3.4
Cold Storage	2050	446	+1.0
Hotels	1780	350	-0.5
Yarden Hotel	3010	300	+0.4
Hilton 1	28423	17	-
Team 1	1880	1390	-0.3

## Real Estate, Building and Agriculture

Azorim	867	6525	-0.6
Elion	601	12512	-6.1
Africa Jar. 0.1	38280	125	-
Denmark	4540	510	-4.0
Prop. & Bldg.	3250	3117	-
Bayfield 0.1	4481	568	+2.7
ILDC r	60550	180	-
Rasco r	no trading		
Mehadrin	8050	470	-5.8
Haderim	1448	2563	-

## Industrials

Dubek b	3790	1000	+1.3
Pr-Ze 1	no trading		
Sunroest	13450	250	+6.3
Elita	18500	298	+0.4
Adgar	552	3829	-
Argamam r	18100	304	+4.0
Delta G 1	3280	1877	-1.5
Macvesta 1	5420	384	-
Eagle 1	14400	41	-
Polgat	3820	881	+0.5
Schoeller	14500	48	-3.3
Pogodin	3120	767	-4.0
Urden 0.1 r	7560	343	-
Is. Can Co. 1	2820	2377	-
Zion Cables	2310	480	-4.7
Packer Steel	13400	206	-1.5
Elbit	403000	12	-

## Elion

Elion	317500	7	-
Arit	33350	142	-
Clal Electronics	2095	3260	-2.3
Spectronix 1	2085	1840	-1.7
I.A.T. 1	4700	374	+5.4
Akan 5	850	3463	-
Agan 5	17000	103	+2.0
Alliance	2500	627	+2.0
Decker	4210	529	-5.3
Fertilisers	5281	25	+5.2
Haifa Chem.	405	11142	-
Teva r	8271	322	+0.1
Dead Sea r	4615	3821	-0.2
Petrochem.	564	34198	+2.4
Neca Chem.	7500	530	+1.4
Frutaron	13800	80	-8.8
Gilboa Paper	25300	31	-1.5
Central Trade	8580	804	-
Koor p	6580000	0	-0.5
Clal Inds.	1568	15400	-1.9

## Investment Companies

IDB Dev. r	5300	1284	-
Elion	3580	1978	-
Arik 1	245	13350	+6.5
Gilboa	1740	5176	+4.5
Israel Corp. 1	9700	1384	-3.0
Wolfson 1 r	123900	0	-0.5
Hapoalim Inv.	7050	1780	-
Leumi Invest.	no trading		
Discount Invest.	3020	2526	-
Mizrahi Invest.	20504	203	+4.6
Clal 1	989	11934	-1.6
Adesco 0.1	4210	527	+2.1
Pama 0.1	9500	110	-8.1

## Oil Exploration

Paz Oil Expl.	18050	42	-1.1
J.O.E.L.	4200	1684	-

## Abbreviations:

s.o. sellers only	b buyers
b.o. buyers only	r registered



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## Misplaced indignation

PRESIDENT Chaim Herzog's planned state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany next April is already being assailed by the same wall-to-wall coalition that customarily greets with hoots and catcalls any fresh manifestation of the established fact that, in the fifth post-war decade, Germany is no longer just a former murderous enemy but also a friendly land.

The coalition is informally headed by Knesset members from parties of the left and of the right who are Holocaust survivors. Their opinion deserves a respectful hearing, but not necessarily assent.

The visit, unanimously approved by the cabinet, will reciprocate President Richard von Weizsaecker's official journey to Israel last year, which drew forth no negative reactions in this country. Even those who believe that Israel should forever execrate and boycott Germany regardless of its political colouration, found little wrong in the red-carpet reception for the most eloquent German exponent of Germany's abiding burden of guilt towards the Jewish people. It was clear at the time that an Israeli president would sooner or later have to respond to a presidential invitation to visit West Germany.

Nevertheless, it is now being seriously suggested that the visit be cancelled.

"A president of Israel should not go to Germany," MK Ora Namir was quoted as saying. In other words, it is perfectly all right for Knesset members to go to Germany, to host German guests and to drive around in German cars, and, when the occasion arises, issue blasts at Bonn for not being as friendly as it ought to be. But the president should shun any association with standard Israeli practice. Such hypocrisy is contemptible.

To be sure, when Mr. Herzog does make his three-day visit he will place the rekindling of the Holocaust memory as his major concern. The central feature of the visit is to be a memorial service at the site of Bergen Belsen death camp, which was liberated in 1945 by the British Army in which Mr. Herzog served as an officer at the time. He will not shrink, it may be assumed, from reminding his German hosts that, as a nation, they cannot ever escape responsibility for the massacre of six million Jews.

It is regrettable, however, that in order to mollify local critics an effort is now underway by some of the president's aides to present the entire visit as but a "journey of Yitzkor." The implication would be that, for Israelis, Germany is still only one vast Bergen Belsen, and even the best-disposed Germans today mere heirs to the Nazis' deadly legacy.

If that is indeed the intent, the idea of the visit would merit a re-examination. The Germans can be given offence just as readily from Jerusalem.

## More than a lapse

THE improbable duo - Shamir and Peres - that sought to smother the Shin Bet affair, is now occupied, together this time with Yitzhak Rabin, in choking off the Iranian arms affair.

Were the reason simply the discomforts of failure, their protests could elicit at least some empathy. For, in foreign affairs as elsewhere, gambles are not guaranteed success.

But they admit to no mistakes. Instead they don haloes of self righteousness: Helping a friend in need free his hostages.

Thus, just as the Shamir-Peres duo would not, or could not, see the perversion of governance inherent in the Shin Bet affair, so the Shamir-Peres-Rabin triumvirate does not, or cannot, see the perversion of statecraft inherent in the Iranian affair.

The making and execution of foreign policy does not fluctuate solely between public platitudes and clandestine adventure. Those exercises have their place; but their place is to be anchored in a coherent network of strategic thought, planning and projection of consequence. For this, government is furnished resources. And to hone the process, democratic government is bracketed by accountability.

But when foreign policy is conceived, not as a game of nations, but as a game of men, of manipulative secret intercourse between power brokers, all, of course, in the name of the national interest, failure can never be far behind.

This, it must be assumed, is the conception to which the Peres, Rabin, Shamir triad succumbed. And this is the reputation which Israeli statecraft, if so it can be called, has in recent years been vested.

It is, after all, possible to conceive of other addresses besides Israel to which U.S. operatives might have turned in order to despatch arms to Iran. That they did not lends credence to the suspicions that Israel-linked arms merchants were well practised in trade with the repugnant Khomeini regime and that Israel did not simply bow, in a fit of high mindedness, to a friend in need, but rather offered this misbegotten exercise in stealth.

It requires more than a dose of optimism to suppose that with the immunities granted by a unity government to those in power, their habits of mind and the processes over which they preside will change. Until they do, Israel's foreign affairs will continue to be the breeding ground for fugitive affairs.

## BONN

(Continued from Page One)

Later in the day, Kohl met with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to discuss the issue.

Political observers in Bonn noted that the government had gone to the outer limits of what could have reasonably been expected in the light of Germany's unwillingness in principle to impose economic sanctions against other countries.

The Syrian ambassador in Bonn was summoned to the Foreign Ministry where an official informed him of the government's decision. Until last night there was no formal Syrian reaction, sources in Bonn said.

On Wednesday night, the ambassador of the Arab League in Ger-

many, Aziz Hachene, commenting on the state of Arab-European relations, claimed that there was a danger of "misunderstanding, distrust and racism" in relations between Europe and the Arab world. He warned that breaking off diplomatic ties would estrange the Arabs from Europe. Hachene also said that the political storm that was currently sweeping over the Arab world may envelop Europe too.

In Washington, the Reagan administration issued swift praise for West Germany's decision to expel the Syrian diplomats and said Washington would consult its West European allies over possible additional steps to counter what it calls Syria's support for terrorism.

# The price of unity

Benny Morris

THE national unity government has turned Israel from a flourishing, often rowdy democracy into something akin to a one-party state in several vital areas of our national life. The handling of the Pollard, Shin Bet and Iranian arms affairs has amply demonstrated this. Matters, which in a normal Western democracy could have caused the fall of governments or at least the resignation of prime ministers and other cabinet members, in Israel have had practically no effect on the political constellation.

The national unity government has notched some major achievements since its formation following the stalemate in the 1984 general elections. It almost completely eradicated the IDF from the Lebanese bog with barely a ripple of internal political commotion. And it launched and continues to implement an economic recovery programme that under a one-major-party-coalition might well have caused major social and political turmoil and, perhaps, also painful economic privation.

But the existence of the unity government has severely curbed the traditional operation of Israeli democracy in certain key areas of foreign and defence policy. The vitality of Israel's democratic system, which so impressed visitors and commentators from the West during the first decades of the state's existence, has been stifled. The last remaining institutions, outside of this governmental embrace are the press and the High Court of Justice. But the press's bite can go no deeper than the appetite of public opinion, and the High Court of Justice, due to appointments during the Likud years, has taken on a highly conservative hue.

The cornerstone of traditional Western democracy has been the two-party system and the existence of a large, powerful opposition. The opposition party constitutes the main watchdog of government and, when all is said and done, the most serious obstacle to the regime's abuse of power.

In Israel, the coalition of Labour and Likud has meant government without effective or noteworthy opposition: Mapam, the Citizens Rights Movement, Rakah and the Progressive List for Peace separately and together, however articulate

their spokesmen, lack sufficient mass to effect anything from the left; and Tehiya and Meir Kahane, from the right, suffer from even graver deficiencies.

Thus Labour and Likud rule together and alone, and need not - and almost always do not - take any account of utterances, motions and votes of no confidence by the opposition parties. Nothing was more telling of the government's utter contempt for the opposition parties (especially of the left) than Foreign Minister Peres's sarcastic and rather unenlightening Knesset speech Wednesday on Israel's Iranian connection.

THE ONLY effective opposition to government policy under the unity coalition has been from within the major parties and this too, has been of very limited effectiveness. Labour and Likud ministers and MKs who have objected or who object to "government" policy have been hamstrung by party considerations and allegiances. Abba Eban, chairman of the Knesset Foreign Relations and Defence Committee, may quail at the handling of the Shin Bet or Iranian affairs and over the ignoring of the Knesset, its committees and sub-committees, by the decision-makers - but he will not protest too loudly or threaten to resign.

Similarly, within the cabinet and inner cabinets, Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman may rage and fume but he too will not break party ranks... because there is nowhere to go. There is no effective opposition party now, as there was for Weizman in 1984 when he left the Likud and slowly crossed the lines to Labour. Lone protest barely scratches the surface of decision-making. And effective protest, such as resignation, is not effective at all.

Even in matters such as the Shin Bet affair, where the internal party "opposition" mobilizes a majority within the party in Labour - the structure of the unity government is such that the isolated leader can rely on redemption by his colleagues from the other major coalition party. Thus while a majority in Labour had come round to the Shabai-Rubinstein view that a judicial commission of inquiry was necessary to solve the Shin Bet affair, Peres (while voting for a commission of

## READERS' LETTERS

### CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I refer to the letter of November 14 expressing disturbance at Dry Bones's cartoon of October 29.

We too thought it special. We cut it out and made sure all our friends saw it. Then we sent it to our relatives in America.

We thought it accurately depicted the historical interactions and feelings of Jews towards Christians. It may be said that there are "historical feelings of suspicion and mistrust by Jewish people toward Christians," but Dry Bones only told it as it is.

ROSALIND YUNKER  
Jerusalem.

### SHILO ANNIVERSARY

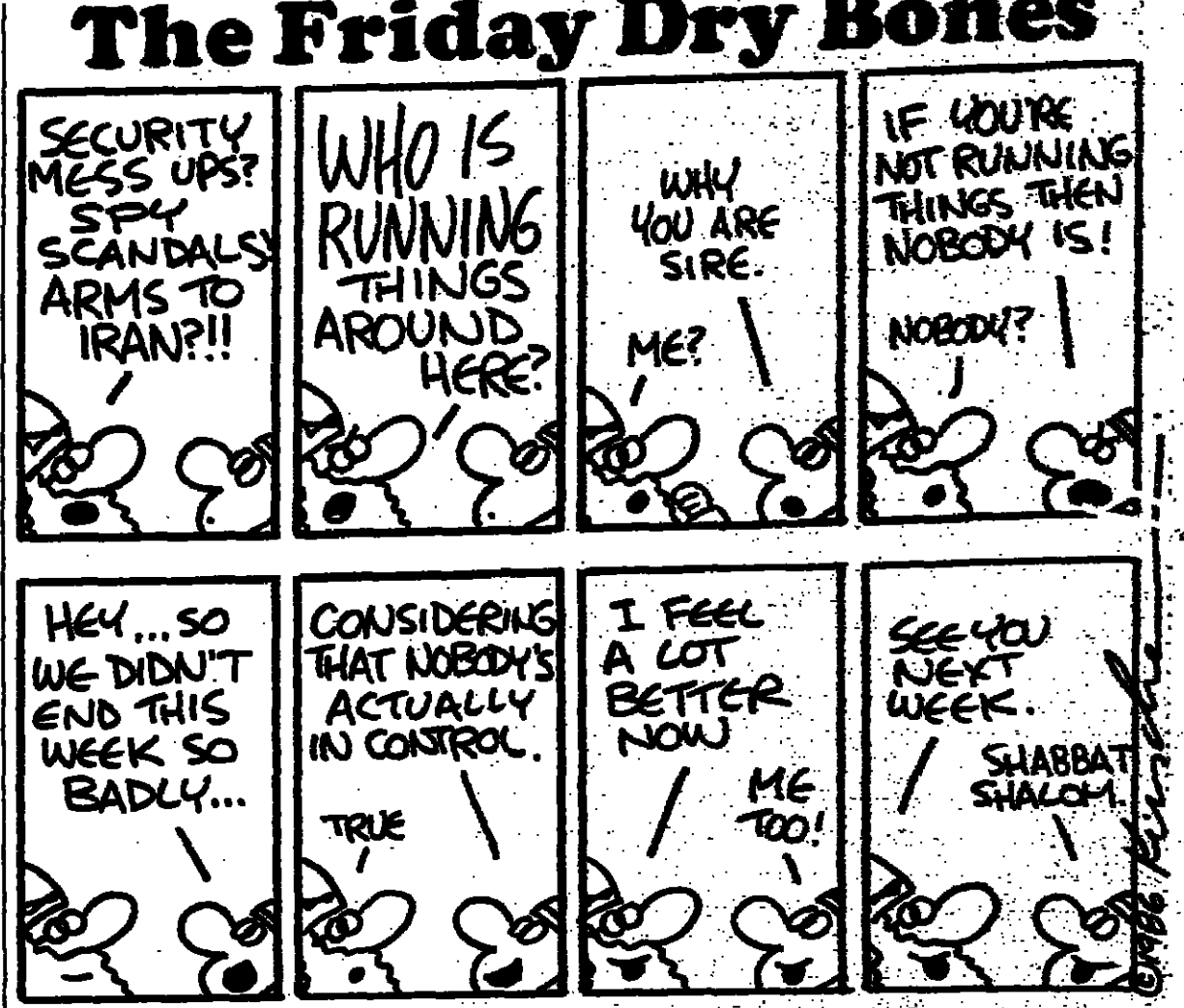
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - On December 2, Shilo Pregnancy Advisory Service celebrates the tenth anniversary of its activities in the Jerusalem community. During the past 10 years, over 100 professionals from the fields of medicine, nursing, social work and psychology have contributed their time and their skills with generosity and caring.

As we have not managed to locate all of Shilo's former volunteers, we invite them to get in touch with us immediately for details by calling 02-630666 in the mornings.

RUTH BENDER,  
Shilo Coordinator  
Jerusalem.

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inquiry) was able to beat down the demand by relying on the anti-commission votes of the Likud and its satellites in the full cabinet.

This national unity government mechanism was similarly exploited by Likud leader Shamir in the crucial vote last year in the inner cabinet on the withdrawal from Lebanon. Shamir allowed himself to vote against withdrawal, while knowing that it was the right and inexorable policy, because he knew that the coalescence of all the Labour ministers and some of his Likud colleagues would result in a pro-withdrawal majority.

The unity structure has enabled both party leaders not only to ignore the desires and demands of the opposition parties but also to shunt aside the wishes of their own party stalwarts. In this sense, the unity government has allowed the two party leaders to enjoy a rich and consistent diet of having their cakes and eating them too.

MOREOVER, the similar career background and joint feelings of the two party leaders, guided by Defence Minister Rabin, and the unity structure have resulted in the emergence of an "inner, inner cabinet" governed by a covert security (bit hon-ist) outlook on certain key foreign policy matters.

### A STATEMENT BY 'G'

This is not true. My client was not involved in suborning witnesses or manipulating evidence, but in transmitting information from the Commission's deliberations to other Shin Bet officials, in accordance with orders and in pursuit of his duties.

My client was never told by the head of the Shin Bet or anybody else that he would have to leave the service.

DOV WEISSGLAS, Advocate  
Tel Aviv.

### CONTEMPT FOR KNESSET MEMBERS

hate. All they expressed was ridicule and contempt for the arrogance, abuse and greed of the members in taking excessive and unwarranted fringe benefits for themselves at the expense of the overburdened citizen.

NATHAN P. BAKER  
Jerusalem (Ft. Lauderdale).

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All three "triumvirs," Peres, Rabin and Shamir, devoted the bulk of their adult lives to and were "fashioned" by organizations (the Defence Ministry, the IDF and the Mossad) whose modus operandi was secret and whose goals were determined only by interests of state security. In this context, Peres's and Rabin's "Labour" ideology and values are irrelevant. Security, perceived in its narrowest sense, is all that could well be the motto of all three men.

Hence, it was natural that the three men agreed on the "appropriate" handling of the Pollard case, the Shin Bet affair and the Iranian arms deals. Why take it to the inner or full cabinets, where voices of dissent were bound to be raised? And it would always be possible later to explain that the "triumvirate" decisions were necessary because any wider forum would inevitably have resulted in leaks.

The national unity structure and its embodiment in triumvirate government assured that the exposure of each affair, highlighting basic mismanagement by the threesome and serious mismanagement by each of the ministers concerned within his personal sphere of authority, would not result in serious political damage to any or all of the triumvirs.

Shamir and Peres had either been party to the Shin Bet cover-up in 1984-85 or had been extremely remiss in their duties as prime ministers by not knowing what was going on in the service for which they were responsible.

Rabin, in the Pollard affair, had been at the very least gravely remiss in his duties when he had allowed a rogue agency (Rafi Eitan's Unit for Scientific Liaison) to flourish within his ministry and to spy against the U.S.

All three were misguided in selling or helping the U.S. sell arms to Iran either in payment for hostages or to assist that country in winning its war against Iraq, for the Shi'ite revolution it embodies and spearheads is ultimately a mortal threat to Israel. If they agreed to Israel's participa-

tion in a deal which resulted in funding for the Contras, behind the back of Congress and possibly of President Reagan, all three were remiss in their duties.

In a functioning democracy, all three triumvirs would have been held accountable for their mistakes and would have been called to book. Resignations would have followed. The national unity government, with mutual back-scratching and protection at the highest level, has assured that no one has paid a price for making crucial mistakes.

THE UNITY structure has facilitated both non-accountability and government by triumvirate because, again, there was and is no effective opposition. Only a coalescence of the two parties' backbenchers, or even cabinet and some inner cabinet ministers could challenge this - but such a combination is unlikely.

However, the Iranian arms deals may at last have shaken the triumvirate structure. Sharon, Arens, Levy and Weizman joined together to question the propriety of "government by threesome," while cabinet, inner cabinet and Knesset are kept in the dark.

It is possible that the "challenge" will prove ephemeral. But it is also possible that the fallout from the Iranian arms affair, kept in the air by protracted American investigations and their findings, will not settle in Israel so quickly, and will provide a continuing challenge to the government of the triumvirs. In that case, one can expect that some decision-making powers will return to the inner and full cabinets, and that the Knesset's powers of debate and supervision over the actions of the executive will once again be exercised, at least to some extent.

But the essential problem foisted on the nation by the existence of the national unity government - the lack of an effective opposition - will continue to bedevil Israeli democracy until a coalition government, headed by one major party, is reconstituted.

The writer is the diplomatic correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

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